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PITALKHORA YAKSHA : SANKARIN?

BY

M. S. MATE

Among the numerous sculptural finds from the ruins of the Buddhist cave-temples at Pitalkhora (the ancient Pitaṅgalya) perhaps the most interesting is the free-standing Yaksha figure (Fig. 1) The excavator of these ruins, who has subsequently published an exhaustive report on his findings,[1] has suggested that this Yaksha figure may be that of the Yaksha Saṅkārin referred to in the *Mahāmāyurī*, a text of Tantric Buddhism. The object of the present paper is to examine this suggestion in greater detail, especially with regard to the artistic context of the figure.

The caves and their ruins have been assigned to a time span of six to seven centuries. The latest of them are given the date of the sixth century A.D. whereas the earliest supposedly belong to the 'centuries just preceding and following Christ. . . . The sculptures both *in situ* and recovered loose from the debris, all belong, as stated above, to this first phase of occupation of the caves, covering the first two centuries before and after Christ.'[2] The Yaksha figure under examination is specifically dated (on the basis of the paleography of a short inscription on its palm) to the second century B.C.

The figure is described as unique by the excavator and he has not been able to get anything parallel to it from the various places he has mentioned. As to the figure, it is three feet six inches in height as extant — its legs below the knees are broken off. It represents a standing corpulent male Yaksha with its arms raised upwards to hold a shallow bowl. The corpulence of the figure is emphasized by the two fleshy rolls on the sides and its dwarfish but bold robust features give it a distinction of its own. The head is adorned with two rows of rolls of hair; around the neck are necklaces of gadrooned and collard beads rather large in size but highly successful in accentuating that impression of bold corpulence the artist desires to impart. In the perforated ear-lobes are spiral 'kuṇḍals'. Above all, the expression on the face is striking. 'It is a broad chuckle verging on the mischievous.' Its gay hilarity stands in strong contrast to the dignified aspect of the *mahuts* who once stood there lovingly stroking the trunks of their charges.

As to the artistic aspect, the figure is certainly remarkable. Its modelling conveys most successfully the impression of a happy-go-lucky, shuffling

servant ever willingly and happily at your service ! Now it is obvious that since the excavator took this to be a unique piece, he at all thought of its identification. The point to be examined first is whether it indeed is a unique piece. Let it be conceded that if absence of an absolutely identical piece is to be taken as a criterion then the piece is unique. This type of identity the author obviously has not in mind; it is the identity of the 'motif', that is, of the conception and of the style. It is only such comparison that could be of any point re : identification. If the figure belongs to a class or type or a common motif to be found elsewhere as well, the piece does not remain unique and consequently its value in identification is lost. Apart from the near-parallels cited by the author himself, attention might be drawn to a couple of figures from Pitalkhora itself; one from Sarnath and one from Mathura, all of the second—first centuries B.C. It hardly needs to be emphasised that they have a family likeness to the dwarf figures on Sanchi gateways.

On a mutilated portion of a pilaster (Fig. 2) are depicted a female-chauri-bearer and a small Yaksha.[3] He has his arms raised to support a platform on his head. His knees buckle under the weight but his face has wrinkles on the forehead, opèn and bulging eyes, fleshy cheeks and the mouth open as a result of unsuppressed laughter'. The expression of jovial abandon is unmistakable. A close comparison of this figure with the free-standing Yaksha is highly revealing. The body postures of both are the same, the knees are slightly bent under the weight of the load, the general corpulence of the figure and above all the jovial face, are so similar to each other as to betray a family resemblance. There certainly are points of difference : one is in the full round, the other is in relief; sizes differ; one has received detailed treatment with so many ornaments, hairdo and all, the other is dealt with in a more or less cursory fashion. These have arisen either due to technical considerations or out of the functional position of the particular sculpture concerned. Unlike the free-standing Yaksha this figure is a part, and a less important part at that, of a design in architectural decoration. The attention is focussed on the Yakshi (who has therefore received very elaborate treatment). Thus if due allowance is made to such factors that account for the differences, the two figures have a conceptual and stylistic affinity.

Another figure, from the sculptured panel on the southern side of the steps to Cave No. 3 is also remarkable in this context (Fig. 3).[4] Its overall bodily position appears somewhat distorted but it is due to the position of the beam it is supporting. This beam is slanting in one direction. Otherwise bent knees, raised arms, pot-belly are the same. Most important, the jovial face is there. Even the method of carving the eyes and eyelids is the same in all three figures. Significantly each of the Yaksha figures from this place and from similar position does not have this expression. It seems to be the speciality of an individual craftsman or a school of sculptors.

Next to be considered is a sculpture from Sarnath.[5] It was either excavated or recovered here. Unfortunately it is in a fragmentary condition, it has lost the legs below the knees — or rather below the ankles — and one of the arms as well as the head. It is a free-standing figure with bent or curved knees and arms raised to support a load on the head. The treatment of drapery and ornaments though not as rich as the Pitalkhora Yaksha, is not poor either. The workmanship is good, with a fine sense of modelling. Although nothing can be said about the face, the body position is similar to the Pitalkhora Yaksha, the height is 2′.9″ (as extant i.e. without its head) —neither too small nor too big than the latter. It is quite corpulent and is capable of fulfilling the same sculptural or architectural role as the other image. One would not have been too much surprised if this figure, when intact, had a face lit up with the same jovial laugh.

The last example is a fragment from Mathura[6] (not illustrated). It is a head with a bowl on it and has clear marks showing that the hands supporting it have been broken off. The face has a mild smile.

The position then is : there exist figures that are not too dissimilar to the Pitalkhora Yaksha and not removed from it in respect of time. In other words it is a common motif current in Indian plastic art and as such not unique conceptually. There would be little point then in trying to treat it as an 'individual' and as such capable of identification. One line of investigation would be to try to discover any *differentia* it has — in the iconographic sense. If there is any, then alone a comparison with a text could be undertaken. Here again, nothing tangible comes out; but worst still, the text is utterly silent on this point. The passage from the *Mahāmāyuri* does not even indicate whether the text refers to the guardian spirits of the various places or to an image of any sort. The former seems to be the only correct explanation of the passage.

The Pitalkhora Yaksha, highly artistic creation though it is, is a *motif* and symbol common in the Sunga-Kushan-Andhra art and has little to do with any Sankārin.

References :

1. Deshpande M. N., The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan, Ancient India, No. 15, pp. 66-93, pls. XLVII to LXVI (1959).
2. *Ibid.*, 69-70.
3. *Ibid.*, pl. LVII, p. 83...
4. *Ibid.*, p. XLIX, A, p. 73.
5. Archaeological Survey of India — Annual Report N.S. 1904-05, p. 83, fig. 16.
6. A.S.I.-A.R., 1930-34, Part 2, p. 253.

ANCIENT TAMIL CULTURE

or

TAMIL CULTURE 2,000 YEARS AGO

By

H. D. SANKALIA

●

The current controversy about Hindi and Tamil ignores the fact that 2,000 years ago inspite of several independent and semi-independent states which often fought with each other, still the Indian culture was fundamentally one. No doubt, there were local or regional differences due to physiological or environmental causes. And this is true of South India as well, as a review of the latest research shows.

Not only in the 2nd century after Christ the Tamil rulers and traders had used Sanskrit as the 'link language' in their cultural conquest of South East Asia as so well established by Professor Jean Filliozatt at the recent World Tamil Conference in Madras, but much earlier, their form of Government and administration as well as the social make-up was not fundamentally different from what we had in north India. This feature was recognised by several South Indian scholars of the past generation who had studied the classics known as 'Sangam'. Of late, owing to the rise of regional patriotic fervour, scholars all over India strive to emphasise the regional aspects more than the all-India features of our culture. Dr. Subrahmanian, the author of the book *Sangam Polity* claims that he has gone through all the original works in Tamill and not relied on translation and, therefore, he can present a truer idea of the culture as was obtained in the south nearly 2,000 years ago and earlier. He relies primarily on the Tamil sources and incidentally on foreign notices of South India and much less on archaeology, though as will be pointed out later, during the last 20 years enough archaeological evidence has been made available through excavations to say something positively about the individual character of the protohistoric South Indian culture.

That apart, we are more concerned with the early history of South India, particularly of the Tamilnad. The evidence is culled from the Sangam

Fig. 1
Pitalkhora Yaksha

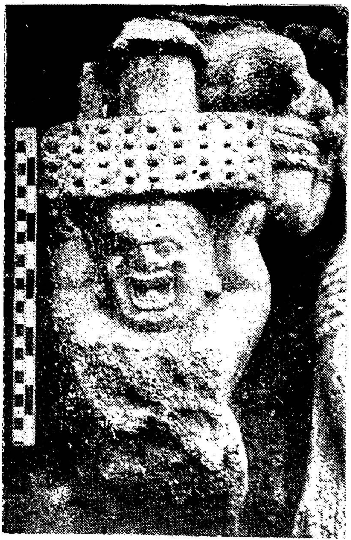

Fig. 2
Yaksha from pilaster : Pitalkhora

Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 3
Yaksha on the steps : Pitalkhora

Fig. 4
Yaksha : Sarnath

Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 5
Side view of Fig. 1

Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India.

literature which spans a period of no less than 5/7 centuries. Unfortunately we have no clear chronological idea of the various works, and, therefore, it is not possible to trace the development of either the original Tamil or the Sanskrit-oriented cultural forms and concepts.

The word 'Saṅgam' itself (Dr. Subramaniam himself says) is possibly derived from the Sanskrit-Buddhist word 'Saṅgha.' But he does not know how it came to be applied in the sense in which it was applied in South India, viz. 'an assembly of scholars.' A little consideration will show that the Buddhist 'Sangha' was not only a fraternity of monks, but it was also an assembly or council of scholars. One of the earliest such Councils, we are told, was convened by Asoka and there were two or three more in the time of the Greek king Menander and Kanishka respectively. Thus it is possible that the word 'Saṅgam,' meaning an assembly of scholars or scholarly works can be traced through Sangha to its original meaning. But we must give credit to the Tamil for the connotation that it came to acquire in the South, namely a literary academy established by the Pāḍnyan king at Madurai and earlier elsewhere, which is not before the 7th century A.D.

However, if one studies dispassionately the various detais, in this very rich literature, viz. the form of Government, including the Council of Ministers, the social stratification,institution of bankers and businessmen and their names as well as other features of daily and ceremonial life more than 50 to 70 per cent resembled what existed in the north. Here we should not worry about tracing the origin of this or that concept or term–whether the south derived it from the north or the north from the south or both from some other source. The fact is that we find, if we arrange in parallel columns the various details mentioned above (some of which may be illustrated here) there is no fundamental difference.

That the culture in South India was not fundamentally different can be seen from a few illustrations.

The kingship was hereditary and it is most interesting to find that succession was not matriarchal but patriarchal, a conclusion which is said to be supported by the entire Sangam literature but which is at variance with the general notion of sociologists. For instance Dr. (Mrs.) I. Karve in her recent studies came to the conclusion that in the south succession was mainly matriarchal. But this we are told is a recent development and applicable to Kerala only (p. 43). And this system of inheritance prevailed in all the three kingdoms, viz. Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇdyan, i.e. the entire South India. Nowhere is an instance, we are told, of a woman every succeeding

Fig. 5
Side view of Fig. 1

Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India.

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to the throne in her own right. The selection of the king by popular approval is also ruled out.

The symbols of royalty were the weapon, the sword, the plough, the umbrella, the drum, the horse, the elephant, the chariot, the garland and the crown. This small list is later increased to 21, but essentially these are 8 and though the words or the names are in Tamil, still these are in no way different from what was found essential for a king in north India right from the Vedic times. The court of the Tamil Kings was called *Avai,* and this is said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *Sabhā,* and found in the earliest *extant Tamil text Pāyiram to Tolkappiyam.* (p. 47). The king was assisted by two bodies-one called *Aimperuṅkulu.* This consisted of ministers (*Amaiamchchar*), Purohit (*Purohitar*), army-chief (Sēnāpativar),envoys or ambassaodrs (Dūtar) and spies (Oṟṟar). Here unfortunately, we are not told when earliest these occur in Sangam literature, whether in *Silappadikāram, Manimēkalai* or *Maduraikkhāñchi* or in still earlier works. For here all the names except the last are positively derived from Sanskrit. Barring the addition of Tamil suffixes one cannot doubt that the north Indian influence was there or the practice prevailed in the north was accepted in the south.

There was another institution called *Enpērāyam.* This consisted of (1) Karanattiyalavar, (2) Karumakarar, (3) Kanakasurram, (4) Kadaikappalar, (5) Nagar Māndar, (6) Padaittalaivar, (7) Yanai Virar and (8) Ivuli Maṛavar. These terms respectively stand for accountants and executive officials, in the secretariat, treasury officials, palace guards, city elders, chief of the infantry, chief of the elephantry and chief of the cavalry. Here the positively fully Tamil names are numbers seven and eight only, whereas numbers 1–6 are Tamil forms of Sanskrit which we meet with earlier in Kautilya's *Arthashāstra* and other works in the north. It may be that these were not directly derived from the north, but there was a common source from which both were derived. The important thing from our purpose is that both the north and the south had almost uniform form of administration.

Apart from the administrative institutions, individual officials who did the bidding of the king are also mentioned. Among them, the minster was a very important official. He was called *Amaichchar.* The word has been derived from Amātya, a Sanskrit word. Mantri is again a Sanskrit word. Valluvar calls the Amaichchar, Ulai Irundar (i.e. those that are nearby), and Kadiyalur Rudran Kannanar calls Amaichchar, *Surram.*

Though there was no rules to select these various officials from a particular community, we know in what way the selection could have been

made. The Purohits and the astrologers must be from the Brahmin community, military officials from the fighting community (Ksatriya) and the treasury officers and clerk and accountants from the business community. (Vaisya). These have formed the social strata in India for hundreds of years. One has, therefore, to admit, inspite of efforts to prove the contrary, that the caste system as known in the north prevailed in the south. And this was known to Tolkāppiar, one of the earliest Sangam writers (p. 258).

In other respects also the king and his court as well as the army were not much different from what one knows of these people in the north. For instance, we are told that the warriors before starting the battle drunk deep and freely their toddy.

The land revenue was supposed to be 1/6 of the produce of the land which is prescribed by Manu. Now whether this was an after-thought of the later writers or not, but this is what we get in the Sangam literature—the text and the commentaries. The word for pledge is called *Panayam* which is so far known to be Sanskrit, but quite likely Tamil and Sanskrit have derived it from some commen source. As far as the trade is concerned, the south naturally exported those articles of trade which were easily available there and in return, got things from the Roman world. But these were not fundamentally different. All over India Roman wine, women, and gold were welcomed, but these were in much larger quantity in the Tamil land and the west coast because direct trade had been established between the Tamil land and Arabia, Egypt and Rome after the discovery of the monsoon. This was so far known only from literature. Now archaelogy is providing very interesting evidence in sculpture, architecture, even small terracottas and lastly through the discovery of the amphora. And we are told in the *Pūṛam,* one of the Sangam classics, the kings preferred to drink the thin clear foreign wine, while they gave the thick and delicious stirred drink to the guests. And in this connection, an interesting custom is cited. To enjoy this spirituous drink better, a garland of ginger bits was prepared and this was strung along with flowers which they wore and sip at the toddy bowl and a bite at the ginger bit alternated to the great pleasure of the eating party.

It is surprising that cremation is regarded as the usual practice for disposing of the dead when we have got sufficient archaeological evidence to say (which unfortunately has not been utilized by the author) to say that burial-above ground or underground-was the most preferred practice; for in the north cremation had become common much earlier than in the south and here are few traces of burial at the beginning of the Christian era.

When we turn to religion, we are surprised to find that among the gods worshipped were : Ṣhiva, Muṛugan, Thirumāl, Valiyon (Balarāman) (p. 324).

Of these Indra not only was an Aryan god known in the Vedic times but a god, of the Indo-Europeans, mentioned as he is in the Boghazkeui inscriptions in modern Turkey. Balarāman again reminds one of the brother of Krishna and these are probably the gods of the north.

So taking all these important facts of the Tamil administration and culture, we find that the south 2,000 years ago was not fundamentally different from the north for "the Sanskrit language and literature were not unfamiliar to the Tamils even before the Christian era" (p. 9). What one should stress here is the genius of the Tamil language which had coined a large number of words for their equivalents in Sanskrit and very often Tamilized Sanskrit terms and expressions. In fact this was a feature in the early years of the Christian era. Later the king and the people accepted Sanskrit as the court language. And though later under the Cholas Sanskrit lost this position still all these centuries, inspite of several foreign onslaughts, it is the south which has been the home of the Sanskrit culture and for which Indians of all shades and denominations will ever remain grateful to her.

Whether one agrees with the conclusion here arrived at by a disapassionate study of this very well documented book, viz. 'Sangam Polity', one should note the author's remark that inspite of the fact that Tamil was the common language of all the three kings-Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya-still they continually waged war among themselves (p. 123), so that language alone is not a cementing force either in India or elsewhere. More than one language, one religion, one culture, what a country requires for a nationality or national unity is the deside to be one inspite of all odds—an ideal which England alone of all the countries in the world has maintained all these centuries and which we have not been doing as all our history before 1857 and after 1947 shows.

REVIEWS

The Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Medieval India: Edited by K. D. BAJPAI and others. Indic Academy, Varanasi: 120 pp. Rs. 20.00.

This Encyclopaedia, it is intended, will be much more comprehensive than the old Geographical Dictionary of Nando Lal Dey and the still earlier work of Cunningham. The present Volume covers the entries from A—D. The rest of the entries will be published in seven other parts. While the work under review is welcome, efforts should be made to make it more comprehensive and accurate. It appears that published works on the subject, for instance, *Historical Geography and Cultural Ethnography of Gujarat* has not been consulted. Even the existing epigraphical material, for instance, the Index to *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. X by Lüders has not been utilized. Otherwise such well known places as DHENUKĀ-KAṬA could not have been omitted. It should also be very useful to the Academy if similar works prepared for Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and South India are consulted by the Academy, for a very uptodate and exhaustive collection followed by identification of the place names, has been prepared at the Deccan College and all these works have been illustrated by relevant maps. The improper mixing of the letters 'B' and 'V' have led the authors to wrong identifications, as under Baradā (p. 52). The river in M.P. is 'Wardha', and Varadā in Mysore. It is almost unlikely that Kutch was ever called Audumbara. This suggestion of Cunningham based on an earlier interpretation of Pliny has not been accepted by McCrindle (*Ancient India* 1901). For Bādāmi (Vātīpi) we have now a much earlier reference than cited by the authors. At times one fails to understand the criterion for the inclusion of a place name in the encyclopaedia. For Bherāghaṭa is not mentioned in any ancient text.

It is hoped that the Academy will be able to publish the seven other parts in course of time, taking into consideration the suggestion made here. Indeed a more exacting and critical approach is necessary.

H. D. Sankalia.

The Mahimnastava—Edited and Translated by W. NORMAN BROWN. American Institute of Indian Studies, Poona-1965. Pages X + 80 pp. Rs. 5.00.

Devotional lyrics or gnomic poetry is a rich branch of Sanskrit Literature. Not only great poets but even greatest philosophers find a pleasure in composing such lyrics. Even Śankaracarya, a great philosopher of India, has to his credit a large number of stotra works. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas have a large number of such fine pieces of poetry. There are innumerable small stotras of which a small number has been published and a major part remains still unpublished.

The *Mahimnastava* is popular throughout India. In Maharashtra it is used as a substitute for the *Rudrādhyāya* at the abhiṣeka rite in the worship of a deity. Many cheap editions of this stotra are available.

Dr. Brown deserves our thanks for choosing this popular lyric as a first book of a series to be published by the American Institute of Indian Studies as well as for bringing out such a beautiful edition with the miniature paintings. We would have been still more glad if the editor had printed all the miniature paintings in colour instead of in black and white.

For this edition the editor has used 10 manuscripts, 3 printed editions and the inscribed text. He treats the inscribed text as the Codex and presumes the text to have 31 stanzas. However, he gives in the appendix 15 stanzas that are found in other manuscripts and printed editions. The printing as well as the general get up of the book is excellent.

In the printed text the editor has used some orthographical peculiarities of the inscriptional text, i.e. for · = anusvāra: verse 5d, 28a and Appendix 3.

Similarly, in the printed text, we find, 'dustho' and 'daushthyam' for 'duḥstho' and 'dauḥsthyam' respectively. The author should have mentioned these orthogaphical peculiarities in the introduction.

There are a few printing mistakes in the text which are shown below:—

Misprint	*Correct*
mridāya	mriḍāya (30 c)
śāśvat	śaśvat (31 b).
munīndai	munīndrai (App. 2a)
dhūrjaṭe	dhūrjaṭeḥ

The translation is so well done that even a layman is able to grasp the fine points of the text. However, there are a few instances where an alternative interpretation can be proposed.

16d: 'vamaiva vibhutā': The translator takes it as a particular case and translates "is not your power perverse one". But I think It would be better to take it in a general sense and translate as "power is always harmful".

18b: 'rathacaraṇapāṇiḥ': The translation given is "he whose hands are emblazoned with sun and moon". I think, 'rathacaraṇapāṇi' = Viṣṇu, and this may be simply rendered "with the weapon of wheel in his hand".

30(abcd): 'namo namaḥ': It is generally taken as a single expression and not two different words. So the translation in all the four lines as "again reverence" is redundant.

19a: The editor supplies the words, 'daily' and 'once' in the translation, but I think these are not at all relevant there. This story occurs in *Liṅgapurāṇa* I 98. It describes the worship of Śiva by Viṣṇu with a thousand lotuses as a unique occasion not repeated any time. Further, by adding the words "his eyes", the translator wants to suggest that the lotus got transformed into a wheel. But at least the *Liṅgapurāṇa* says that Viṣṇu got back from Śiva the lotus-like eye along with the gift of the wheel.

20a: The word 'kratumatām' is translated as 'celebrants'; but as the verse refers to the sacrificial rite throughout, the word 'sacrificers' would have been better. In this verse all the three words 'karman', 'kriyā' and 'kratu' refer to the sacrificial rites.

27a: The word 'vṛttīḥ' is explained as "waking, sleeping and deep-sleep", but I think the vṛttis here refer to the three guṇas, sattva, rajas and tamas.

A point worth mentioning here is that the reading 'riśya' accepted by the editor is fully supported by an expression in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*'—'tāmṛśyo bhūtva rohitaṁbhūtāmbhyait'.

Verse 10 is a fine pen-picture of the story in the *Śivapurāṇa*. The *Śivapurāṇa* states that while in search of the higher and the lower limits of the fire-column, Brahmā assumed the form of a swan and Viṣṇu that of a boar. The painter, however, depicts both of them in his painting in their original form.

Let us hope that the learned author of this beautiful work will bring out many more such editions.

V. W. Paranjpe.

Origini Indeuroper — by G. DEVOTO. Firenze, Sansoni publ., 1962. ("Origines". Studi e Materiali pubblicati a cura dell 'Istituto Italiano di Preisoria e Protostoria), 521 pp. 74 figs. 20 plates. L. 18,000.

This work marks an important epoch in the studies of Indo-European Linguistics. It presents and analyses all the contributions that various sciences have made in order to arrive at a determination of the concept of "Indo-European origins", effecting a synthesis which can be considered its primary achievement. It further orientates the various data towards a representation of this concept, leading it in the direction of a renewed linguistic palaeontology, which is the most original contribution of the author.

The first Chapter is dedicated to the *Problema filologico e grammaticale*. It contains a brief review of the documented Indo-European languages; an outline of the researches which have gradually led to the concept of the Indo-European language; problems of linguistic reconstruction, and finally, an examination of the relationship of Indo-European with other linguistic groups.

In the second chapter (*Problema geografico antropologico etnologico*) the writer discusses the contributions of sciences other than linguistics. First, he deals with the problem of the Indo-European habitation, race, period; then follows an outline of the researches which have aimed at the reconstructions of the cultural traits as well as reconstructions of judicial and religious institutions. Finally he deals with ethnology. In this Chapter the contributions of geography are utilized in order merely to determine by a process of elimination the original Indo-European habitation; those of anthropology testify to a racial variety; whilst those of ethnology do not, according to the author, proceed beyond the limits of the congenital abstraction of this science. Therefore Devoto feels that prehistoric archaeology can alone shed much fresh light; Chapter three is devoted to its contributions (*Problema archeologico e culturale*).

The Chapter analyses the cultural currents identified by archaeologists; these currents have given rise to pressures inside and outside the Indo-European community for a period extending from the Neolithic Age when a primitive undifferentiated Indo-European area could be identified in mid-eastern Europe, upto the Iron Age when the territory occupied by the Indo-Europeans presents already their constituted nationalities. The particular problem of the collaboration of archaeology and linguistics is examined and its validity affirmed. Archaeology, "since it is able to distinguish positive chronological sequences–however rudimentary our notions of Stone Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age may be–bestows a temporal dimension to what appears in a linguist's eyes flat and without relief as a photograph" (pg. 75).

However, a tendency to approach the Indo-European problem from an historical point of view has been felt for a long time.

Chapter fourth (*Problema storico*) is a subtle analysis of the manner in which this exigence of historicity can be recognized in the working out of a terminology such as "anti-Indo-European", "peri-Indo-European, "pre-Indo-European"; in the particular branches of research styled "la rappresentazione ramificatoria" and "la rappresentazione cellulare"; finally leading to the modern concept of "linguistica spaziale" elaborated by M. Bartoli, upon whose "norme areali" Devoto's analysis ultimately dwells. However, this too undergoes constructive criticism by the latter. In fact the following Chapters offer an instance of a coherent practical application on a large scale of the former's revised "linguistica spaziale".

In Chapter four the author's personal point of view and his concept of a renewed linguistic palaeontology assume a precise shape. The renewed linguistic palaeontology deals with "cultural areas" defined by the contributions of all the various sciences; they consist of a variety of social components which the lexicon now popular, now aristocratic, now magic, now ritual, reflects; they are run through by dynamic forces which grammar and lexicon once more reflect, and it is a task for the linguist to connect them as far as it is possible with the currents identified by archaeologists.

Chapter fifth (*Il vocabolario compatto*) isolates the lexical treasure which may be attributed to a period lived in common by the Indo-Europeans, allowing an insight into their cultural phase as well. The contraposition of West and East follows (Chapter six : *Occidente e Oriente*) : the diversities in the lexicon mirror events which contributed to the differentiation of two areas, the western and the eastern, each stamped by different envoronments and influences of foreign cultures.

Revolutions of a social and religious nature can be ascertained finally from the lexical diversities which contrapose the Centre and the Periphery, as a consequence of which archaisms were brought to the peripherical areas whilst the Centre was experiencing innovations (Chapter seven : *Centro e Periferia*).

The three Chapters five, six and seven give an exhaustive review of all the available Indo-European lexical data. These are clearly and systematically catalogued at the end of this work in a separate booklet. The Indo-European dynamism resolved into a stillicide of nuclei detaching from the primitive habitation continuously through centuries beginning with the Neolithic Age. The process is one of disaggregation and instability. When, during the Bronze Age, forces of reconstruction and centralization in the

various areas of the territory occupied by the Indo-Europeans became manifest, the process of the constitution of the various Indo-European nationalities began.

Chapter eight deals with *La costituzione delle nazionalità indeuropee,* containing relative monographies of the : (1) Germans, (2) Balts and Slavs, (3) Tocharians, (4) Aryans, (5) Hittites, (6) Greeks, (7) Italic Group, (8) Celts, (9) Illyrians and Thracians. Armenians and Albanians.

The book represents the final product of an uninterrupted activity such as is witnessed throughout Devoto's entire career as a writer and as a teacher. In the central pages his disciples recognize the most fascinating academic lessons, incisive in their logical lucidity, maieutic of interests in their originality, formative in the instance they offer of the strictest dialectic control, which constantly measures the lucidity on a scale of probabilities, never allowing the originality to merge into arbitrariness.

"The task of a scholar is neither that of trailing after the myth of total unity, nor that of fearing the integral linguistic heterogenity, but that of graduating a series of facts and aspects from the unitary and general ones to the more or less particular ones reached at during linguistic reconstruction. Within these limits, the hypothesis of a common language, the German Ursprache, is correct and necessary. Those who adhere to it do not deserve to be considered as the followers of a conservative anachronistic line. Analogically, where the technique of reconstruction is concerned, we never expect to reach any absolute and lasting certainty; herein too, one merely graduates, distributing in a series, with critical sense and correct judgement, the reconstructions which seem to be almost obvious, together with those containing increasing margins of risk if not of arbitrariness" (pg. 16-17).

This "graduation of the probabilities" is Devoto's method par excellence. It has attained in this work a stage of perfection which makes certain pages classic (see pgs. 308 ff. dedicated to the idea of the divine or pgs. 333 ff. on habitation).

The monographies contained in the last Chapter possess the same classic strain; the author's sense of historicity has reached herein (comp. his works *Storia della lingua di Roma, Gli antichi Italici*) a final incisiveness and synthetic power.

The work will have to be revised and enlarged in the future.

The author himself says in the introductory *Avvertenza* : "This book was begun in 1938. It has not been completed as yet."

This very fact enhances its real worth.

Since it does not deal with static realities but with moving "cultural areas" defined with the collaboration of various sciences, it is liable to be enlarged and revised due to the new discoveries which will shed fresh light and new data which will be added from different sources. Nevertheless, the dynamism in which the "cultural areas" have been viewed will offer a methodological guide for the future and will constitute a concrete basic framework for the insertion of further data.

For the present, the work remains one of the most unique efforts ever made by a single individual possessing complete information and sense of acumen, in order to give an historical meaning to the linguistic facts of the Indo-European world, furthermore utilizing them in order to reconstruct history.

This is the reason why the work beginning with the affirmation that "the basis of the concept of the Indo-Europeans is linguistic" ends when literary evidences begin to be available, within the period ranging from 1000 B. C. to 1000 A. D., for the "usual work of the historiographers".

Anna Radicchi

Bajirao II and East India Company; 1796-1818. Second revised Edition by P. C. GUPTA. Allied Publications Private Ltd., Calcutta. 1964. 239 pp. Rs. 16.50.

It is strange that Maratha History is studied more in Bengal than in Maharashtra. Some of the best books on Maratha History have been written by Bengali Historians. The present book is a Ph.D. thesis of Dr. P. C. Gupta, a pupil of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, submitted to the University of London, now reprinted. It was first published in 1939.

The period under review is the nadir of the decline and fall of the Maratha Empire. The internecine rivalry of the Maratha sardars and the Peshwa had reached the lowest ebb. The Peshwa himself had lost his dignity and did not care to take the help of the Nizam, their hereditary foe. (p. 59) He was not in good terms with Amritrao and Chimnaji, his step brothers. His hatred for Amritrao had gone to such an extent that 'even Amritrao's name

was so odious to him, that it if were mentioned in his presence, it was necessary for him to perform ablution.' Hastings had a good opinion about Amritrao. Every year at Benaras Amritrao spent Rs. 1½ lacs as alms. Every blind and lame person got one seer of rice and one rupee per day from Amritrao. (pp. 75-76) Bajirao hated Chimnaji also. (p. 114) Dr. Gupta is of the opinion that Amritrao would have administered the state better.

Ramchandra Patwardhan's sharp and self respecting retort that 'I shall remain loyal to the Peshwa and never serve Wellesley' is inspiring. Bajirao, unfortunately compensated this loyalty by taking a part of his income and giving it to Bapu Gokhale. Bajirao suppressed the rebellions of the Sardars with the help of the British. Dr. Gupta thinks that Bapu Gokhale's guerilla warfare was at that time out of date against the British. (p. 84)

Bengali historians generally underrate Marathi sources in supercession to the English ones. Dr. Gupta is no exception to the rule. Gupta looks at the Diwan S. Raoji of Baroda, Gangadhar Shastri, Trimbakji Dengla and Yeshwantrao Holkar etc. through the British eyes. His remark that Yeshwantrao pretended obedience is not correct. He does not seem to have referred to the volumes of Holkarshahichya Itihasachi Sadhene, Sardesai and Khareshastri have been used but sparingly.

In case of Gangadharshastri's murder, Gupta is not blaming Bajirao. (p. 144) He thinks that the plot was hatched in Baroda. Even Bajirao's self-respect was roused by the insulting Poona treaty of 1817. (p. 168) Bajirao, it appears, had even planned to murder Elphinstone. (p. 177) Maratha army was fortunate in having a very good leader in Bapu Gokhale. Bajirao used to call him 'the sword of the Empire.' (p. 195) The British regarded Bajirao's stay in the Deccan precarious. It is interesting to note the difference of opinions among English officers on the point of giving pension to Bajirao. Munro says 'Eight lacs may be much for Bajirao to receive, but not for John company Bahadur to give. (p. 208) Grant Duff testified to Bajirao's skill in rinding and swordsmanship and his knowledge of the Shastras. (p. 215) Mackintosh compared Bajirao with contemporary European rulers like George III and Napoleon and says that in manner and appearance he was better than the other two. (p. 216)

Gupta could have easily noticed Bajirao's self-respecting behaviour at Bithur had he taken the trouble of going through the pages of the B.I.S.M. quarterly minutely. At many places Gupta goes on giving quaotations but carefully abstains from giving his own opinion (p. 71) In case of Gangadharshastri's murder, Gupta gives contradictory statements as regards Elphinstone's charge — once absolving and once holding him responsible for that murder. (pp. 140, 205)

It is a pity that though Dr. Gupta is an Indian, he spells Indian proper names in English manners. Let us give the following examples :—

Danglia for Dengle.
Kanhuji for Kanhoji.
Juner for Junnar.
Sawuntudi for Sawantwadi.
Kesab for Keshav.
Madhuji for Mahadji.

Similarly Dhundu, Bajoba, Lohagur, Peshuanchi, Swarna drug, Vinchore, Raghupant, Godebole Yerveda have been wrongly spelt. Karanja near Satara has been made Karanji and Chinchwad near Poona has been transformed into Chinchane. (p. 5, 17, 19, 24, 25, 44, 49, 52, 55, 79, 91.)

Dates appear at some places but years are rare. Readers are therefore baffled. To an ordinary reader the book is monotonous. The author appears partial at many places and avoids details and depth. Marathi historians have written better on this topic. The printing and get-up of the book is good.

P. L. Saswadkar.

Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition To Easter Island and The East Pacific. Volume 2:

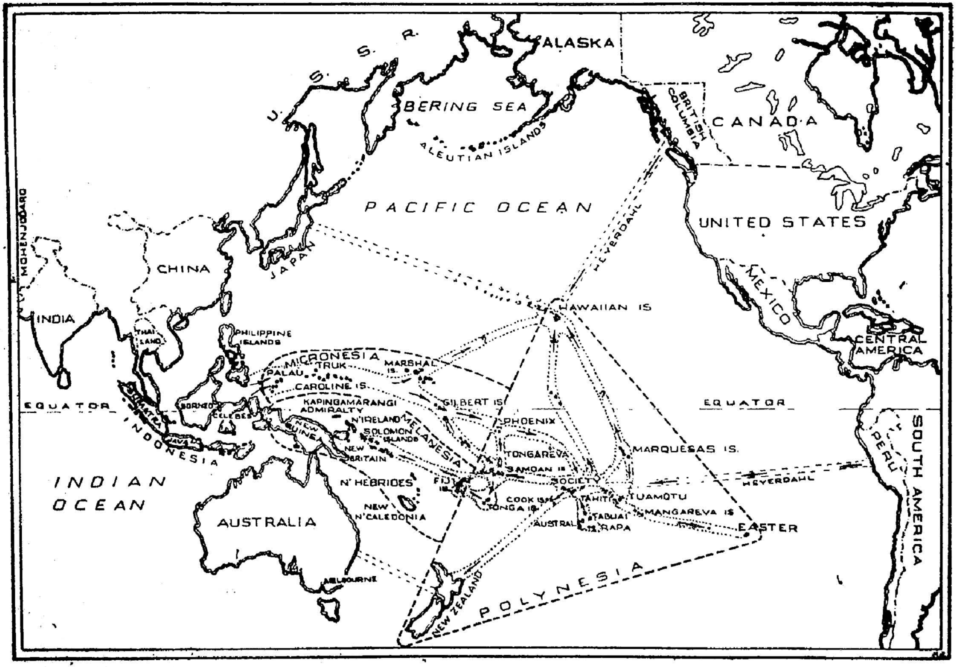
Miscellaneous Papers by Thor HEYERDAHL and Edwin N. FERDON, Jr. Monographs of the School of American Research and the Kon-Tiki Museum, No. 24, Part 2, 1965. London. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Price 8 gns.

If the first Kon-Tiki Expedition to the Easter Islands was an epitome of intellectual curiosity and unparalleled adventure on the high seas by Thor Heyerdahl (later to be followed by others, the latest being the solo voyage of 30,000 miles by Sir Francis Chichaster) this volume is an ideal illustration of field archaeology today. It is no longer or should be what Edward Bacon said of Indian archaeologists 'Excavators dig like terriers; and one excavation completed, are hard at work on a new dig......' but a prompt report on the work, however, small or insignificant by a team of experts from several fields, besides the archaeologist. It is inter-disciplinary cooperation at its best.

The long title explains what the report deals with. After Thor Heyerdahl convinced the world that man could go to the Easter Islands from Europe in a primitive boat in these days of atom-powered ships, the next problem was to go to these islands and other islands in the Pacific and ascertain when man could have gone to these islands. Was is it in the recent past or in the dim antiquity, or was the contact with the civilized world almost continuous? Careful archaeological excavations alone could throw some light on these questions. Hence Heyerdahl organized and financed an archaeological expedition to the Easter Island and the East Pacific. Not content with bearing this financial burden, he also assumed the burden of underwriting the cost of publishing the scientific reports emanating from the activities of the expedition. This is no mean achievement. To publish a report of 512 pages on crown quarto, supplemented with 60 plates and 165 text drawings all printed on first rate art paper must have cost a fortune. One wonders when shall an Indian millionaire be fired by such imagination for truth, adventure and adequate scientific publication ! !

The first 12 reports are purely archaeological in character and deal with the explorations and excavations in the several groups of islands : Pitcarin, Rapa Iti, Raivavae, the Marquesas, and Eastern Polynesia. Besides remains of flimsy houses or structures, the normal objects of stone such as anvils, pounders, adzes, scrapers, sinkers, shell scrapers, etc. — all indicating a stone age economy. The Marquesas Islands are interesting because they contain anthropomorphic monuments which Heyerdahl compares with similar manuments in an around Polynesia. Report 13 studies the cranial and postcranial material from Easter Island, whereas No. 14 analyses the Blood Types of Human Bone Samples, and on the basis of these are discussed the Blood Group affinities of the Easter Islanders and their relationship with the Polynesians. However, after considering all the evidence Roy T. Simmons has to say, "It seems evident that there were no planned migrations into Polynesia, and that the Polynesian people spread mainly by accidental voyages to all the distant Polynesian islands. Blood group serology does not prove to us who they were or from when they came. There is then no Polynesian problem, other than that created by ourselves, for it would seem that a handful of men and women from the east and the west, and not racial groups as we know them today, produced the Polynesian people as a distinctive entity amongst the races of Man."

It is Thor Heyerdahls' discussion of the origin of the hieroglyphic script called Rongo — Rongo of the Easter Island that should interest an Indian scholar. For in the thirties Hevesy rocked the scholary world by postulating a relationship between the undeciphered Indus Valley script and that of the Easter Island, a distance of some 11,000 miles as the crow flies, almost 180° across the world.



U. S. S. R.
ALASKA
BERING SEA
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
UNITED STATES
HEYERDAHL
MEXICO
CENTRAL AMERICA
CHINA
JAPAN
MOHENJODARO
INDIA
THAILAND
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
HAWAIIAN IS.
MICRONESIA
TRUK
PALAU
MARSHAL IS.
CAROLINE IS.
KAPINGAMARANGI
ADMIRALTY
GILBERT IS.
PHOENIX
N'IRELAND
SOLOMON ISLANDS
MELANESIA
NEW GUINEA
NEW BRITAIN
BORNEO
CELEBES
SUMATRA
JAVA
INDONESIA
EQUATOR
EQUATOR
TONGAREVA
MARQUESAS IS.
SAMOAN IS.
SOCIETY
FIJI IS.
HEYERDAHL
PERU
SOUTH AMERICA
N' HEBRIDES
COOK IS.
TONGA IS.
TAHITI
TUAMOTU
MANGAREVA IS.
TABUAI
AUSTRAL IS.
RAPA
EASTER
NEW N'CALEDONIA
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
MELBOURNE
NEW ZEALAND
POLYNESIA

It should be mentioned that the evidence now consists of the lost wooden tablets on which these hieroflyphic signs were carved or engraved, some paintings, and paper manuscripts which were written after the 15th century and discovered much later. While Thor might be rejecting Heresey's theory, it should be pointed out that the Indus script has a boustrophedon element, as has the Eastern Island script, and some more evidence adduced to say that it read from to right to left.

Thors' own views on their origin and interpretation are, "that a system of inscribing texts in boustrophedon on wooden tablets was formerly known in wider areas of Central and South America. The tablets were used primarily for chanting religious texts at ceremonial occasions. The basic concept spread at least from Panama to Peru and a branch reached nearby Easter Island. Isolation permitted survival in this remarkably out of the way island community, although the proper system of reading was finally lost through internal wars and linguistic disturbances. Through proto-historic and historic survival of primarily the basic ritual performances associated with the tablets, the most striking ethnographic conformities to the use of kohau rongo-rongo survive among the Cuna, whereas the magico-artistic conceptions embodied in the design of the characters, and the final specialization in reading them in the unique system of reversed boustrophedon, became restricted to the directly adjacent East Pacific areas of ancient Peru and Easter Island."

Finally, how old is the occupation of the Eastern and other Islands by man? Fortunately on this problem in which all are interested, the combined evidence of the modern scientific disciplines viz. Carbon-14, and the still later Obsidian Readings cross checked by European trade goods, historical information, it has been possible to group the sites and the associated remains into three periods: Early, Middle, Late. The last two are spread from A.D. 1100—1868. It is during the last two that obsidian, a natural glass-like rock was used. For the Early Period the present report gives no date. In every way a most welcome publication.

—H. D. Sankalia.

Indian Historiography

1. Vishwambhar Sharan Pathak : Ancient Historians of India : A Study in Historical Biographies. pp. xvi+184. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966. Rs. 15/-

2. P. Saran : Descriptive Catalogue of Non-Persian Sources of Medieval Indian History (Covering Rajasthan and Adjacent Regions). pp. xi+234. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1965. Rs. 40/-

3. B. G. Kunte : History of the Bahamani Kingdom (बहमनी राज्याचा इतिहास) Translated into Marathi from the English rendering by Major King of the Burhan-i-Maasir of Syed Ali. pp. 18+236. Majestic Book Stall, Bombay, 1966. Rs. 9/-

4. Radhey Shyam : The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. pp. xvii+440. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1966. Rs. 20/-

5. Charles McKew Parr : Jan Van Linschoten : The Dutch Marco Polo. pp. xlvii+312. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1964. Rs. 8.95.

Some Indian scholars of History have mildly reacted to the statement that in Ancient India the writers of this historical land lacked a sense of history and that ancient Indian historiography was a very primitive and unsystematic branch of scholarship. From Elphinstone to the end of the ninenteenth century this opinion was expressed by many Western writers on India who, it must be owned, were the first to take up the study of Indology. Indian scholars came on the field later and some of them showed their annoyance at the views of Western writers who, they said, were partisan and somewhat prejudiced against historiography as practiced in Ancient India. But they made no attempts till our time to find out how this view originated and who it was that first put it into words. It was Alberuni who says, "Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succesion of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling. But for this, we should communicate to the readers the traditions which we have received from some people among them". Brought up under the influence of Arab historiographers like Ibn-Ishāq (a. 767), Musa ibn-'Uqbah, al Baladhuri, al-Tabari, al-Masudi, the "Herodotus of the Arabs" and a galaxy of others whose treatment of history was chronological and dynastic, Alberumi found that the Hindus had produced no chronicles to compare with what the Arabs had written. His observation that the Hindu scholars "take to tale-telling" is borne out by Firūz Tughluq's memoires in which Firūz quotes the fanciful explanations given to him by the Pandits of Delhi regarding the inscriptions on the Ashokan pillars removed by the Emperor to Delhi from Topra and Meerut.[2]

1. Edward C. Sachau, *Alberunis India* (Kegan Paul etc. London, 1910), II, 10-11.
2. The Pundis told the Emperor that the script was one used by *Pisachhyas* and that the pillar was the walking stick of Bhima the mighty Pandava! *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī* of Shams-i-Siraj Afif in Elliot & Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians* (original ed.), III, 350-53.

One of our own scholars, Dr. Hiranand Sastri, preciding over the History and Archaeology Section of the Sixth All Indian Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930, voiced a similar opinion and gave his reasons for the scant attention paid in ancient times to the writing of history. He said "Indians of the hoary past did not care much for history not because they were destitute of historical instinct but because they cared more for the next world than for the matter of fact human existence. To them the world before them was *māyā* or illusion and what was beyond the grave or the *śmaśāna-bhūmi* was the real world. It is owing to this wrong or perverted conception of metaphysics that we do not possess real historical works written by the ancients of this country...[3]"

Alberuni's views were first questioned by Sir William Jones who, in the *Asiatic Researches*, 1797, discussed the importance of the Puranas in reconstructing the history of ancient India. The gauntlet was thus taken up and Dr. Pathak is the latest entrant in the arena. For his scholarly defence of ancient Indian historiography he has selected four works ranging between the seventh and twelfth centuries. These are (1) The *Harshacharita* of Bana, (2) The *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* of Bilhana, (3) The *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya* of Someśvara III, Bhūlokamalla, the Chālukya king of Kalyani and (4) The *Prithvirāj-Vijaya* of Jayānaka who came to Prithviraj Chauhan's court from Kashmir a little before 1191, the year of the first battle of Tarain in which Prithviraja scored a victory over Muiz-ud-Din Muhammad bin Sam of Ghor. Each of these four works is critically examined in four chapters placed between Chapter I entitled "The Beginnings of Indian Historical Traditions" and Chapter VI, the concluding chapter, headed "History in Historical Narratives." To this chapter are added two appendices under the heading "Appendix". In the Table of Contents the "Appendixes" are listed separately and not as a part of Chapter VI. The first appendix entitled "Under the shadow of a Symbolist" discusses history in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita,* a tenth century epic composed by the Parmara court poet, Padmagupta, and the layers of myth and legend, tradition and fiction from which it has to be dug-out. The second appendix deals with the Agni-Kula legend and the myths connected with it. The reviewer has been long haunted by a query. Had Agni-Desha (modern Qara Shahr) in the northern parts of Central Asia any connection with the Agni-Kula tribes of Rajputana?

Dr. Pathak has given a "Select Bibliography" of a little more than four pages. He could have with profit consulted the Presidential Address delivered by D. R. Bhandarkar before the Allahabad Session (1938) of the Indian History Congress which makes a vigorous defence of ancient Indian

3. Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All India Oriental Conference, Patna, December, 1930, 1

historical tradition. He could also have included in his bibliography *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (1957) by U. N. Ghoshal which is a revised edition of his earlier (1944) *Beginning of Indian Historiography and Other Essays* and has an additional chapter entitled "The Chronicle of King Hasra [Harṣacharita by Bāna'] and *Biography and History in Sanskrit Literature* by Chandrakant Gajanan Raje published by the University of Bombay in 1958. All these three items mentioned above deal at least partially with the field in which Dr. Pathak has worked.

Dr. Pathak has undertaken the study to enunciate the thesis that Indian scholars of old were not devoid of a sense of history. His contention is that "the tacit assumption that ancient Indian Historians had no sense of history has prevented the modern historians of ancient India from appreciating the true import of their work" and in support he quotes Toynbee, "In any age of any society the study of history, like other social activities is governed by the dominant tendencies of the time and the place." But in ancient and early medieval India these "dominant tendencies" did show a lack of a sense of history. Kalhana alone seems to have grasped the connotation of history as we understand it.

In a review it is neither possible nor necessary to discuss the time span of Ancient and Medieval India. But curiously enough Dr. Pathak uses in his title the term "Ancient Historians" while his study is devoted to writers of the early medieval period. He himself seems conscious of this apparent inconsistency. "We frankly plead guilty", he tells us, "to the charge that our study is restricted to a few of the Medieval historians. However, in order to avoid the pseudoscopic vision, which a person writing on a mere fragment of so vast a subject as Indian history is likely to have, in the first chapter we have tried to cover the period of a millenium and a half, from the Early Vedic age to the advent of the Early Mediaeval." Here Dr. Pathak gives us the forms of historical compositions in ancient times—*gāthā, nārāśamsī, ākhyāna, itihāsa* and *purāṇa* and he discusses the Bhrigvangirasa tradition and the Vedic concept of history and how all these contributed to the rise of medieval historical narratives. The stress slowly shifted from the doings of the early Aryan tribes to the medieval ruler or king and Dr. Pathak tells us "for the first time historiography was based on Court organisation in which the prince, the poet, the Courtiers and the chroniclers worked in unison."

It is on this background that Dr. Pathak examines the *Harshacharita* and the three historico-poetic compositions that follow in successive chapters. The author is the first scholar to have made a detailed study of the *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya* of the royal poet Someśvara III, Bhulokamalla for which he deserves our thanks. His treatment of works he has selected is both critical

and analytical within the framework of the canons he has outlined in the first chapter. But the question still remains. Why did not Bana give a full dress biography of his hero; why did he stop at the meeting of Harsha with Rājyaśrī? Dr. Pathak says, "An investigation into the purpose and form of the narrative would have at once indicated that the poet-historian had all along been working to achieve this end—the meeting of the king with Rājyaśrī. Moreover, there is definite evidence that the *Harshacharita* is a complete and finished product of art. Bāna never intended to write further than this stage." This does not seem satisfactory and all we can say in that Bāna's work is today for us source material for the history of a few year's of Harsha's life, and modern scholars had to turn to epigraphic and numismatic evidence and, most important of all, to the accounts of Hieun-Tsang for a proper history of Harsha's reign. On the *Vikramaṅkdeva Charita* of Bilhana Dr. Pathak's views are also by way of defence. He feels saddend by the statement of Prof. K. Nilkanta Sastri who warns against accepting "as history any statement of Bilhana which is not clearly corroborated by other evidence." Historians who like to have hard facts of history (political, administrative, social, economic) would not consider Dr. Pathak's authors as historians, though they will agree that in the works of these authors are found source materials of history. It is only Kalhana among early medieval writers that shines as a true historiographer, but Dr. Pathak has not included him in this study. He seems aware of the limitations of his theme and in the preface he admits that his aim is directed to "revealing the mediaeval methods of historical organization and inference, based upon the concepts of the past, expressed or implied in the historical narratives" and he hopes that "this study of historiography may suggest new ways for reconstructing the history of the past."

The best definition of *Itihāsa* or History, quite in consonance with our concept of the subject today, is given in the *Mahabharata*

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां उपदेशमन्वितम् ।
पूर्ववृत्तकथायुक्तं इतिहासं प्रचक्षते ॥

Kautilya (I, V) also gives a similar definition : पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतिहासः Our ancient ancestors had thus right ideas of what history is, but they were not able to put these ideas into pracctice; in other words they were not historiographers. Dr. Basham in his foreward has well summed up ancient Indian attitude towards history. "Whether or not India had a sense of history, she had a lively sense of the past, though this past was visualised in legendry terms."

After the advent of Muslims in India they brought with them their own ideas of history which laid stress on chronological and dynastic arrangement

of events. This no doubt influenced to some extent indigenous historiography. A large volume of bardic literature had already grown up in Rajputana and Gujarat created principally by *Chārans* and *Bhats* who sang the praises of their patrons, recorded events in their life and gave dynastic lists. In the early stages and for sometime after Muslim advent this bardic literature was preserved orally by being recited from place to place and was not reduced to writing. It was still tradition bound but it slowly started showing awareness of newer trends. This bardic poetry gives much information on the life of the people, their beliefs and institutions, their social and economic condition and thus supplements materially the Persian chronicles of the period and so enables us to reconstruct a reliable picture of the past. Dr. Saran has stressed this aspect of Rajasthan chronicles in his introduction. "There is immense scope and urgent need for the study of social and cultural history of the period roughly from AD 800 to 1800. The Persian sources alone have till now formed the basis of the study of this period. But it is being realised more and more that the Persian sources constitute only a part of the entire body of source material and that by not utilising other sources the picture naturally remains very incomplete. Indeed for social and cultlral history, the sources in other languages are more important, and these are coming to light more and more every day. This is the main reason why a real history of the people and a proper evolution of the cultural and social dynamics of this region have so far been almost entirely neglected."

More than fifty years ago the Government of India with the active and generous co-operation of Bikaner, Jodhpur and other Rajputana Darbars launched a programme for a survey of Bardic literature of Rajsthan and adjoining regions and invited that well-known scholar, Mm. Haraprasad Shasrti, to carry it out. Shastri did his work under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and his report was published in 1913 under the tille "Preliminary Report on the organisation in search of MSS of Bardic Chronicles." Dr. Saran makes no reference to it in his bibliography given under "Abbreviations;" and the year of publication (1880) of "Bardic and Historic Survey of Rajsthana" by Tessitori listed in the bibliography is wrong. A scientific and well planned, survey was started in 1914 when in the middle of that year the Government of India invited Dr. L. P. Tessitori from Italy to head this Survey. He toured Rajputana for three months and submitted to the Government of India a comprehensive "Scheme for the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana" which was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This was Tessitori's first visit to India, but a discovery by him of some Old Western Rajasthani MSS in a library in Florence in 1911 had led him on to make an earnest study of their grammar. The result of his

4. New Series X (1914), 373-410.

linguistic researches on these manuscripts were published by him in a series of articles, begining February 1914, in the Indian Antiquary. Tessitori was thus well equipped for conducting the survey entrusted to him and he issued four Progress Reports[5] which make interesting and instructive reading and provide much information about Bardic works in Bikaner and Jodhpur areas.

Tessitori divided into two categories the historical literature of Rajputana which he brought to light in the course of his Survey : (a) Bardic Poetry, and (b) Prose Chronicles. The first section comprises of historical poems, commemorative songs and other poetical pieces dealing directly or indirectly with the history of Rajputana. Works in this section are, almost exclusively, created by the bards of the Rajputs. Under the other section (Prose Chronicles) are included "all works in prose of an historical or semi-historical character such as chronicles proper, geneologies, biographies, legendry accounts, historical tales and romances etc."[6] Towards the close of the sixteenth century this section was enriched by a new form, the *Khyat* defined "as an enlarged form of *Vamshavali*. *Khyats* are detailed historical writings in prose and constitute one of the most invaluable sources of history."[7] When this form of history writing developed in Rajsthan it was no doubt influenced by the historiographers of the Mughal Court. Tessitori rightly suggests that the example of Akbar influenced the Rajput princes close to him to entertain *khyat* writers at their courts. He further suggests that the people who composed these *khyats* must have been the *Pancholis* and *Mahajans* at their respective courts. These *Pancholis* and *Mahajans* were collectively known as Mutsaddis.[8]

Both Tod and Forbes made use of such bardic chronicles and other folk stories and legends as were available to them for their work in the early part of the nineteenth century. But attention to this source material was given by governments and scholars after Tessitori did his good work. It created a new consciousness among the people of Rajputana who now began devoting attention to the collection and preservation of this heritage of the past. Some of the Bhandaras and other store houses where this material lay in oblivion for years woke up to its importance and the establishment of institutes like the Rajsthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur and the Sadul Rajasthan Research Institute, Bikaner have now ensured proper upkeep and publication of this historical wealth. Individual scholars have bent their energies to the study of this literature and have produced books on the Pingala Literature of Rajasthan and on Rajasthani Language and Literature. It is in these

5. JASB, New Series, XII, XIII, XV, XVI.
6. JASB, New Series, XV, (1919), 18.
7. Saran, vii, 216.
8. JASB, New Series XIV (1919), 27.

works, as also in Tessitori, that we get accounts of the Dingal, Pingal, Marwari and other linguistic media in which medieval Rajasthani historical chronicles etc. were composed. Dr. Saran in his *Catalogue* has briefly indicated the languages in which the manuscripts surveyed by him were written. These are Rajsthani, Rajsthani–Gujrati, Braj Bhasha and Hindi. The language of a few manuscripts is Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsha and he lists a couple of works the language of which he records as "Hindi–Urdu in Devanagari." A majority of the manuscripts are in Rajasthani in which term Dr. Saran seems to include Dingal, Marwari and other variations.

Dr. Saran has surveyed in all 205 manuscripts which he has divided under nine categories, History, Biography, Politics, Economics, Public works, Society and Religion, Art and Science, literature and Miscellaneous. Under "History" will be found much interesting source material sub-divided into *Itihasa* or historical accounts of kingdoms, Vamshavali's and Pidhiyawalis, Kavita or Laudatory poems, khyats and a bunch of official documents or Parwanas. Indeed almost all the material listed by Dr. Saran is the very raw material of history and it rightly sustains the claim made by him that a proper study and use of it will supplement the Persian chronicles of the later medieval period and help o the students of history to study the subject in a proper perspective.

The oldest manuscript catalogued by Dr. Saran, *Uttar Puran* written in Apabharmsha, is dated 1334 and is copied from an earlier manuscript. The dates of the manuscripts in the *Catalogue* range from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries and a few even later copies. Quite a few of the seventeenth century manuscripts are copies of earlier works. In Part II of the *Catalogue* Dr. Saran has given annotations and descriptive notes on some of the important manuscripts surveyed by him. In Part I he has given his catalogue of these important document which are housed in the research institutes and Bhandaras of Rajasthan. Dr. Saran tells his readers, "Although the quantity of historical material which we have so far surveyed is no more than a mere drop in the ocean of such materials which are scattered all over Rajasthan and are awaiting to be unearthed and suitably utilised, the present venture is quite sufficient to convince us of the importance and value of these sources for historical study." We could not agree more with Dr. Saran. Students and research workers of Indian History should be grateful to the University Grants Commission for sponsoring this survey and for entrusting it to so able a scholar as Dr. Parmatma Saran. More grease to his elbow!

Medieval Arab geographers of whom Masudi was the foremost, wrote extensively about India, but their works were compiled outside India. Sometime after the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in 711 was written in Arabic the story of these exploits. This was translated into Persian in the early thirteenth century at the court of Nāsir-ud-Din Qubācha and is known today

as *Chachnāma*. When Muslim rule was firmly established in Lahore and Delhi there arose at the royal courts a galaxy of historians beginning with Hasan Nizāmī, the author of Tāj-ul-Maāsir (circa 1230) down to Khāfī Khān, the author of Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb (circa 1730). Most of the independent Muslim kingdoms that arose after the break up of the Tughluq Empire encouraged the writing of history. The greatest among the historians of the later medieval or Muslim period was Muhammad Qāsim bin Hindū Shāh, famous as Firishta, who wrote his monumental work *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* or *Tārikh-i-Firishta* at the behest of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bījapur in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. In the preface to his history Firishta gives a list of sources which he consulted in preparing his own work. Three at least of these source books are histories of the Bahamanī rulers of the Deccan after whose decline arose the five sultanates of the Deccan, Bījapur being one of them.

The kingdom of Ahmadnagar was another of these sultanates and at the Court of Burhan Nizām Shāh II of Ahmadnagar (1591-1595) was complied the Burhān-i-Maāsir by Sayyid 'Alī bin Azizllā Tabtābā. This history is divided into two parts. The first deals with the history of the Bahamani dynasty of the Deccan and the second and larger part gives the history of the Nizamshahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar from its foundation in 1489-90 till 1596. Sayyid 'Alī's account brings the story till 1591 but his son Abu Tālib added a supplement to it covering the next five years and the work comes to a close with the truce between the Mughals and the Nizamshahis and the subsequent retreat of Akbar's son, Murad, from Ahmadnagar on 27 Rajab (March 17, 1596). Till 1936 this important source book was known only in its English translation. Major J. S. King, a retired army officer from India translated the portion dealing with the Bahamanis and published it in the Indian Antiquary in seven instalments in Volume XXVII (May-December, 1899). The very next year it was published in book form by Luzac of London. The larger portion covering the history of the Nizamshahi rulers was rendered into English by Sir Wolsley Haig of the School of Oriental Studies, London and well known as editor of the Cambridge History of India Vol. III and published in the Indian Antiquary, 1920-23 (Volumes XLIX-LII). In 1923 this was also published as a book (Printed at the British India Press. Mazgaon, Bombay, 1923).

In 1962 Dr. B. G. Kunte published a Marathi rendering of the *Burhān* by translating the English version of the Nizamshahi portion done by Sir Wolsley Haig. Emboldened by this attempt, Dr. Kunte has now done his second venture and published in Marathi garb the English work of Major King, *The History of the Bahamani Dynasty founded on the Burhan-i-Maasir*. The chief merit of this attempt is that it makes available in Marathi the history of medieval Deccan to readers who have no access to Persian or English. The merit of the attempt also lies in the fact that after the first history of the

Bahamanis in Marathi was published by Balaji Prabhakar Modak in 1891 Dr. Kunte is the next scholar to write on that topic after three quarters of a century. Modak's book was based on Firishta while Dr. Kunte gives us a book translated from the English rendering of a Persian source very little known to Marathi readers so far. Dr. Kunte has thus broken new ground at a time when scholarly works in Indian languages are in great demand. His translation of Major King's English rendering of the *Burhān* is competent though in one or two places the reviewer feels he has not been able to reduce in Marathi the meaning of Major King. e.g. the phrase अरब किंवा पर्शियन धर्माची माणसे on p. 59. Major King does not mention persons with "Arab or Persian religion." His sentence is 'to turn one's back on one's benefactor is contrary to the requirements of religion and manliness and is abhorrent to the disposition of an Arab or Persian.." Happily such lapses are very few.

On page two of the introduction Dr. Kunte claims that, in addition to notes given by Major King, he has given more than ample notes of his own. It would have been better if he had indicated which are his own notes and which are translations of Major King's notes. The reviewer is well familiar with Major King's notes and they are helpful to a serious student. The same cannot be said of Dr. Kunte's notes for which he leans quite a lot on Sherwani's *The Bahamanis of the Deccan.* The result is that all the references like the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, the *Padshāhnāma*, the *Futuh-us-Salātin* and other primary sources are really second-hand from Sherwani. Sherwani gives his notes at the end of each chapter and yet Dr. Kunte calls them "footnotes"! Moreover, he uses the somewhat quaint and totally inaccurate abbreviation "Tabakaté" for *Tabakat* and the *Futuh-us-Salātīn* becomes *Futuhi Salalin.* Also instead of *ibid* or *op. cit* Dr. Kunte uses the word "Ditto". This word no doubt means "aforesaid, the same," but it is used in this sense in accounts, inventories and in commercial colloquial talk and not in a scholarly publication. Note 2 on page 183 which is King's, Mahmūd Gāwān is correctly described as a native of Gilan in Persia, yet when Dr. Kunte ventures on a footnote of his very own (p. 169 note 1a) he makes this Persian Gāwān a "Turki". In footnote 1 on page 167 he ascribes Sewell's famous *A Forgotten Empire* to Sewell and Aiyangar. In note 1 on page 149 he depends on Malcolm's *History of Persia* and tells us that the word "Bahman", (the name of a king of ancient Persia) is a Sanskrit word and means "armed"! The reviewer was unable to locate this "Sanskrit word" "Bahman" in Macdonell's dictionary. Dr. Kunte excels himself in the solitary erratum following the contents. "On page 58 line 15" Dr. Kunte tells us "read Basra in place of Lhasa". Indeed Dr. Kunte is intent on improving on Major King to the detriment of historical fairness. Major King gives the name of the town as Lahsa not Lhasa as made out by his Marathi translator. The Persian text has Lihaq or Lahaq. Where does Basra of the solitary erratum then come in?

Where notes were really necessary Dr. Kunte studiously eschews them.

He tells us in a note on page 2 that the word *Amir* is used for *Amiran-i-Sadah* and thus saves himself the trouble of giving a note to the longer word used for centurians. The words *Lāt* and *Manāt* appearing in the penultimate line on page 153 deserved a note and any good Quranic dictionary would have told Dr. Kunte that these were two idols in Mecca. Similarly the word *Nalbahā* on the next page could have been explained as "blood-money". The names *Habash* and *Jāngbār* on page 174 should have been explained and their location (East Africa and Zanjibar) given. Dr. Kunte thus fails in his claim of "more than ample notes." He also distorts names. Thus Dr. Venkataramanyya becomes at least in three places (p. 4 n1, p. 22 n2, p. 105n) Venkata Ramayya and Dr. Gurti Venkata Rao has been expanded into Gurti Venkat Ramnayya (p. 40n2).

Dr. Kunte's book gives five appendices of which the last three are so crude and unsystematic as to be irritating. There is also a bibliography at the end of the book which is in places inaccurate as regards titles. It has no method and no system of any kind. Dr. Kunte does not seem to know what is meant by "alphabetical arrangement". Dr. Kunte has spoilt this good Marathi rendering of a source book by his lack of method in his notes and appendices and by other blemishes which disfigure his work.

The reviewer is constrained to make these observations because, as stated above, we are now entering an era when work of primary academic importance is going to be done in Indian languages. This has to set a high standard of precision and accuracy and young scholars like Dr. Kunte who with their enthusiasm and love of learning have to take the lead in this behalf, should be and must be aware of the great responsibility that is theirs.

Chronicles of yester years are the source material for the historian of today. Tabātabā's *Burhan-i-Maāsir* is one such chronicle which has been used by Dr. Radhey Shyam for his history of the Nizamshahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar. After the decline of the Bahamani kingdom towards the close of the fifteenth century there arose in the Deccan five succession states of which the Nizamshahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar was one. The other sultanates that arose at this time were the Adilshahis of Bījapur, the Qutbshahis of Golconda, the Baridis of Bidar and the Imadshahis of Berar. Khandesh was an independent kingdom and not a succession state. The history of all these six kingdoms of the Deccan is so much interconnected that in dealing with one the student has to take into account the history of other kingdoms also. Besides the Burhān-i-Maāsir the other important source is Firista's famous history. For the seventeenth century history of Ahmadnagar the Mughal chronicles are most helpful. Dr. Radhey Shyam has made good use of all the source material available to him and has given us for the first time a connected story of the Nizamshahi rulers of Ahmadnagar. He has divided his book in

ten chapters and except for the last two, "The Nizamshahi-Portuguese Relations" and "Political Institutions" the treatment is by rulers and chronological. Garcia da Orta, a great friend of Burhan Nizām Shāh I (1510-53) of Ahmadnagar has in his *colloqies* given much interesting information on socio-economic matters connected with the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. It would have been good if Dr. Radhey Shyam had used this source material. But possibly it was not available to him. There are a few blemishes which mar an otherwise scholarly effort. Qasim Barīd (p. 19) was not a Deccani noble; Firishta (II, 347 Bombay ed. and Briggs III, 495) clearly states that he was a Turk. Footnote 9 on page 94 says "Ferishta has Rahauri". Ferishta says "Ranuri" (II, 199 also Briggs). Bayley is conssistently mishandled as Baylay which is mildly annoying. The author gives a Basātīn-us-Salātīn reference as Part II, Part III (pp. 100n 111, 101n 135, 136, 138) which is misleading The *only* lithographed copy of the Basātīn is not divided into parts but has continuous pagination. In the bibliography he merely gives titles of books without giving the number of volumes. Jahangir's *Tuzuk* (Rogers and Beveridge) is in two volumes a fact which Dr. Radhey Shyam ought to have mentioned. He commits the same error in case of Firishta, Briggs, the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and many other items. He is in good company with Dr. Kunte when he gives the title of Elliot and Dowsons volumes as *History of India as told by her own Historians.* Why scholars forget that the correct title of this great work is *History of India as told by its own Historians* passes the reviewer's understanding. These are minor but irritating blemishes and the reviewer feels bound to point them out (only a few specimens of a large collection have been given) so that a young scholar like Dr. Radhey Shyam shall take heed and exercise greater care and pay more attention to minor details. His future work then will be free from the usual mistakes and he will occupy his rightful place, in due course, in the front rank of Indian historians.

The accounts of foreign travellers who visited India during the medievel period are a fruitful source of information on many facets of Indian life about which Indian histories and chronicles give little or no information. These travellers describe the geography and topography of the areas they visited, the history and political conditions of these and adjoining areas as learnt by them, the condition of the people, their ways of living, manners and customs, the coinage and currency, trade and industry of the ports and marts visited by them and a host of other intersting and useful matters, including the description of routes covered by them, the methods of travel and transport and the amenities that they found in the course of their journeys. At least three hundred travel books from the days of Marco Polo to the close of the seventeenth century have been published and no student of the history of medieval India can afford to disregard them. Some of these travel accounts have gone through many editions over the centuries and almost all of them have been rendered into various European languages quite soon after their

publication in Italian, French, Portuguese or Dutch as the case may be.

Parr's book *Jan van Linschoten: the Dutch Marco Polo* deals with the life and perigrinations of one such member of this intrepid community of travellers. Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (pronounced Yahn Hoyggen van Lin-sko-ten) was a young Dutchman, as the sub-title of the book tells us, who in the days of the struggle of the people of the Netherlands to throw off the Spanish yoke went from his native Enkhuizen to Seville in Spain where his brothers were engaged in trade. The political quarrels between the Dutch and the Spaniards did not hinder trade between these two peoples as the Iberians wanted an outlet for their trade in spices and other commodities and the Dutch were keen on handling at least a part of this commerce. Indeed the Dutch were slowly becoming aware that the prosperity of the Iberian nations owed much to the spice trade of the East and the gold and silver of the new world discovered by Columbus. Young Jan Huyghen had possibly at the back of his mind an ambition to find out the details of this profitable commerce and it is with this idea that he secured a position on one of the ships sailing from Lisbon to India as a member of the entourage of Joao Vicente da Fonseca who was appointed Archbishop of Goa and who was due to sail to India in the pepper fleet of 1583. The fleet left Lisbon on the 8th April, 1583 and on the 21st of September the same year it arrived at Goa, where the Archbishop was received "with great triumph" and in a procession led to his palace. Here Jan remained with him. His brother who had also joined the pepper fleet which brought Jan returned with the same fleet in February 1584 taking with him pepper, spices, cloth and other trade goods. Linschoten's Indian adventure had now begun.

Linschoten stayed in Goa for more than five years. Though appointed to a minor post in the Archbishop's household he made many friends among sailors and merchants who sailed to Indian ports and the countries of south-east Asia, China and Japan. From them he assidously collected all information about articles of trade, trade routes and all other relevant matters. He was an active and alert young man who kept his eyes and ears open and he maintained a journal in which he recorded all the information he had collected during his life in India. He had no doubt many an occasion to visit Portuguese stations in India when the Archbishop was on a visit to them and this helped him to gain good familiarity with *India Portuguesa*. Jan advanced in the Archbishop's service and when in January 1587 that high dignitory sailed for Portugal, as he intended to return, he left Jan in charge of his household. But in September 1588 news of his death was received in Goa. This was a bad thing for his servants, particularly for Linschoten as his chances of advancement were now dim and he records that he felt that the attitude of the Portuguese officials towards him had grown luke-warm and even hostile. This made young Jan homesick and in January 1589 he arranged

to get accommodation on a ship of the *Carriera da India* which was on its return voyage to Lisbon. His adventures on the return voyage were even more perilous than on the passage out and it was not till September 1592 that he finally arrived home in Holland.

Back in his native home town Linschoten began to put into shape the vast amount of notes he had put together about *Asia Portuguesa.* During his five years of unobtrusive study he had brought together a volume of information which is now acknowledged as the most important piece of economic espionage carried out by any traveller of the later medievel period. Indeed as Parr so rightly observes, "No historian can justly describe the polyglot world of the late sixteenth century in the Orient without recourse to his chronicles and his inimitable drawings and charts." The *Itinerario* or account of Linschoten's travels was first published in 1596, but the first part of the book describing the routes to India and the East was rushed through the press a year ahead, "and it had an enormous impact upon the chancellories and counting houses of Western Europe, particularly in the Netherlands and in England". It was used as a rutter or guide by the Dutch merchants even before its formal publication. Indeed it was the basis of all Dutch commercial activity that rose towards the close of the sixteenth century. It had a direct effect upon the discoveries and conquests made by Dutch, English and French navigators in the Far East.

An English translation of Linschoten's *Itinerario* was published within two years of the original Dutch. The translator of the 1598 edition explains in the last paragraph of his preface the motives that prompted him to undertake this task. " I too most hartely pray and wish, that this poor Translation may work in our *English Nation* a further desire and increase of Honour over all countrys of the World... As also for the further benefite and commodity of this Land by exportation of such things wherein we do abound, and importation of those *Necessities* whereof we stand in Need." It is this translation republished in two volumes by the Hakluyt Society (1885) that forms the basis of Parr's admirable and engaging study. He has treated his theme with much love, meticulous care and devoted scholarship. The splendid bibliography of 18 pages at the end of the book is in itself an essay in historical research methods Parr takes us on a voyage with Linschoten in a ship of *Carriera da India,* he brings home to us the hazards of the voyage of the pepper fleets and tells us something about the indomitable courage of a small nation on the Atlantic sea-bound establishing its influence far across the seas and he analyses with sympathy the causes of its decline. Altogether a most rewarding book which Indian scholars would do well to study.

P. M. Joshi.

An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry : Vidyākara's 'Subhaṣita-ratnakoṣa — Tr. by Daniel H. H. INGALLS Cambridge, Massachusetts : Harvard University press, 1965. x+611 pp. Rs. 15.00.

Sanskrit literature is rich in anthologies. So far at least some score anthologies are found in print. A large part of it contains a good number of verses from the dramatic works of famous dramatists like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, Bhavabhūti, etc. Besides the above mentioned poets, a good number of other poets, are known to us by mere name, only because the anthologies quote their verses. They would have remained unknown to us in the absence of such anthologies.

Dr. Ingalls discusses a number of points in his learned introduction. He explains the nine moods (rasas) in a very simple way. At the beginning of every chapter the translator gives a summary of its contents which is very informative. The translation is so simple and lucid that even a layman who is not initiated in Sanskrit poetry would find great pleasure in it. It is really a painstaking job to interpret some of the verses of the present anthology. Prof. Ingalls is frank enough to admit that he owes some of the explanations to great Sanskrit scholars like Raghavan, Gokhale and Kosambi. The notes added at the end are quite useful for the understanding of the difficult verses especially those involving puns.

Many a time the translator proposes emendations that are reallly ingeneous. Prof. Ingalls has an open mind and he frankly mentions sometimes, that though the translation is given, he is not satisfied with it.

I wish to mention a few points where an alternative interpretation can be proposed.

V. 2 (c). Prof. Ingalls interprets the expression 'utsṛṣṭámbaradṛṣṭavigrahabharā, in case of the Māras as, "although their battle array could be seen spread out in the sky". In this explanation, 'utsṛṣṭa' is taken to mean "spread out". But I think it is a far-fetched meaning and unwarranted too. It seems to me that the author has interpreted the word 'vigrahabhara' as "battle array" and then tried to interpret the remaining part accordingly. The word 'vigrabhabhara' is not found used in the sense of 'battle array'. The compound expression here may be explained simply, "although their bodies could be seen from their clothings slipped down", common to both the Māra and stana (breast).

V. 12 (c) The third line runs as : 'sukhaṃ tad vaḥ śāstur diśatu śivam.' Now we get the translation, "lead you to happiness and welfare." I think a mere glance at the passage suggests the emendation 'mukhaṃ' for 'sukhaṃ' and that is quite justifiable orthographically. If the poet had thought of using 'sukhaṃ' and 'śivaṃ' as double object to 'diśatu', he would have used 'ca' in the line. This emendation removes the difficulty of taking

'daśanam' in the neuter gender. Prof. Ingalls takes the compound 'daronmuktā....dyutidaśanam' as the subject of the verb 'diśatu' i.e. a neuter noun in the nominative. If we take 'mukham' as the subject, the compound 'daronmukta....dyutidaśanam' becomes an adjective of 'mukham' and then we can take 'daśanam' in the masculine gender. An address to 'mukha' is more frequent than to the daśana.

V. 25 (a) While translating the passage 'aṅgāmodasamocchaladghṛṇipatadbhṛṅgāvalīmālita—..' the word 'ghṛṇi' seems to be explained as "light" because the translation of the compound is given as, "when gralanded by bees [that fly to the light that rises with his body's rich perfume]". I think the bees are never attracted by light. The compound will be easily understood if it is taken into three parts as 'aṅgāmodasamocchalad, ghṛṇipatad and bhṛṅgāvalīmālita....' The first part may be translated as "being attracted by the bodily perfume" and the word 'gṛṇipated' may be rendered as "moving in waves".

V. 26. b, c. The note on verse 26 says, 'I can make no sense of 'ananta' in b and of 'svaparṇa' in c. I give here an explanation of both the compound words giving the exact significance of the word 'ananta' in b and 'svaparṇa' in c. b gives the idea of a swarm of flies moving around the buffalo's head by means of a number of universes moving around 'Śiva's head", c hints at Siva's pity towards the gods running away leaving their respective seats out of fear (of the terrific dance). The word 'ananta' is taken in the usual sense "innumerable" and the word 'svaparṇāstṛta' in the sense of "their respective seats of the leaves."

Now, in the same verse, we get the translation of the expression 'tāraughaplusṭabhānuḥ' as ["a sun that blazes amidst a host of stars]. The brackets used here suggest that translator is not satisfied with it. I would render it as, "one burning down the (glorious) sun by means of one's own (radiant) pupils (as well as lustrous powers)". The implication is that his śakti "tārā" is superior to the sun in lustre.

V. 46. (c.d.) Prof. Ingalls translates 46c and d as :—

"Looking as if it were a sprout that grew under the daily waterings of the Ganges from out of the whiite skull of his diadem". From the translation it is quite clear that Prof. Ingalls wants to construe "sphaṭikadhavalena" with "kapālena". It is better to take, "sphaṭikadhavalena" with 'payasā'. The waters of the Ganges are always described as white. Besides it is quite appropriate to have the white sprout in the form of the moon due to the pourings of white (clear) water of the Ganges.

V. 116. A minor point is worth noting in the translation of the verse 116 b. The word 'medas' seems to be translated as "flesh". The general meaning of the word medas, "fat or morrow", is much more appropriate here, however, as the fire produces the sound "dhagat, dhagat" when the fat is poured into it.

V. 122 (c) The word bhāṇḍīra is taken to mean a banyan tree. This meaning is recorded in the disctionaries. However, I propose a new interpretation based on the derivation of the word given by Hemachandra. He derives the word, 'bhāṇḍīra' along with 'kāṇḍīra' and 'āṇḍIra', as formed with a possessive suffix 'īra.' So the possible meaning of the word 'bhāṇḍīra' will be a "store house of the milk products." As the verse mentions seperately 'kālindyāḥ kūle', there is no propriety in taking once again the word 'bhāṇḍīra' in the sense of banyan tree on the bank of the Yamuna. It is quite befitting to hunt out Kṛṣṇa in the storehouses of the milk products, too.

V. 123. (a) We find the phrase 'śyāmoccandrā' rendered as "the night is nearly gone!" but, I think, the proper rendering of the phrase would be, "as the moon has risen high" (in the sky).

V. 134 (c). The phrase, "potramātropayukte' seems to be translated as "just enough for pigs". I do not see any propriety in translating 'potra' as a pig. On the otherhand, if we take, 'potra' to mean 'snout", the expression will be, "just enough for the snout", and naturally, its implication will be that the mud was not at all enough even for a part of body of the boar.

V. 164 (c.) The sentence, 'savituḥ marīcayaḥ śītollāsaṁ lunanti." is translated as, "rays modify their coldness". I do not find any point in removing the cold of the sun's rays. It may be translated as, "the sun's rays reduce the severity of the cold season."

V. 201 (c). The compound expression 'sarasakadalīkānanatale' is rendered as, "in the shade of tasty plantains." I do not see any propriety in taking the word 'sarasa' to mean tasty, because it makes no difference in the shade whether the plantain is tasty or otherwise. One may render it however as, "in the shade of a recently watered and fresh plantain grove".

V. 233 (c.) The text reads 'meghenopakṛtam'. In the very line the words 'tasyāgaso niṣkṛtiḥ' occur. Now Prof. Ingalls translates them as, "but for these sins he makes quick recompense", which is fully justified. However, the reading 'meghenopakṛtam' has to be emended to 'meghenāpakṛtam' to have the well-balanced construction, as "yan meghenāpakṛtam...... tasyāgasoniṣkṛtiḥ". Otherwise this sentence will be redundant.

V. 254 (a). The compound, 'paṅkilakūlarūḍhanaladastambakvaṇatkambu.' is translated as "with their trumpeting elephants in the reedbeds growing on the muddy banks." The dictionaries record "elephant" as one of the meanings of the word 'kambu'. The whole verse depicts only minor insects as crabs, earth-worms etc. Hence, I do not see any propriety in taking 'kambu' as elephant. The word 'kambu' may be quite conveniently taken in its usual sense of "conch" and the compound may be rendered as," (the river banks) with the reedbeds growing high and making the sound of conches (as the wind blows)."

V. 254 (b). The word 'vidalat' in the compound expression, 'vidalajjambālatoyāvilāḥ' seems to be translated as "blooming". But the context expects the sense "being cut into pieces", because the water is made muddy by the movements of the crabs and also on account of the particles of the moss cut down by the insects and floating on water.

V. 533 (a). The word 'pikakula' is translated here as "parrots", but "cuckoo" would be a better translation.

V. 558 (c). "the finger is as thin as she" is the translation of the phrase, 'iyamiva karajaḥ kśiṇaḥ.' I think the word 'karaja' ordinarily refers to "nail" and all the words denoting finger are feminine. Besides one can argue that the thinness of the nail is much more easily explicable. The lady in separation is counting the days day and night, for which she has to draw the beads constantly and naturally her fingernail gets reduced.

V. 625 (b). The expression 'avidhautapatralekhaḥ' is explained as 'wan and white as snow'. I think the common meaning of the word 'himadyuti', "the moon", fits here better. Cheeks are very often compared to the lustreless moon of the morning. If we take, 'himah' as snow the word 'mṛdita' in the compound would be redundant, as the snow, crushed or otherwise, retains its charm. On the other hand, the moon in waning or veiled by mist loses its charm.

V. 680. (c). The line, "ruṣam muñcāmuñca priyamanugṛhāṇāyatihitam", is construed, ruṣaṁ muñca, āmuñca priyaṁ, anugṛhāṇa āyatihitam', and is translated as, "leave anger, raise your love, regard your future good". I think the verb 'ā+muc' is generally used in the sense of "to wear", or "to put on (ornaments etc.)". Naturally, we cannot say 'āmuñca priyaṁ' and translate it as "raise your love". We may construe the line as 'ruṣam muñca, amum āyatihitam priyam anugṛhāṇa' which is to be translated as "leave anger, show great or due respect to your love who will be your caretaker in future". After all the lady will have to depend upon her beloved and find her future good in him.

V. 682 (d). Prof. Ingalls gives a note on the word, 'rodita' and explains it as periphrastic future third singular. In the second half of the verse there are two others forms, 'dhvastā' and 'kṛtā' Both of these forms are past participles. So it is better to take 'roditā', too as a past participle and not a form of periphrastic future.

V. 714 (c). The sentence 'mayūkhāḥ ploṣpīḍām bhajante' is translated as "they hurt like burning brands". The root 'bhaj' is generally used to denote "experience". The passage under consideration may be translated as, "the rays (when they will fall on my breast) will be burnt down". Here the lady warns the moon to keep away from her. Naturally excessive heat of the lovesick lady is hinted at here.

V. 729 (c). Prof. Ingalls treats 'prathmapravṛddhaphalinī' and 'lāvaṇya-saṁpādinī' as two different compounds and translates: "that bright splendour that once did flourish greatly, on her limbs and gave them loveliness". I would prefer to have it as a single compound which will be rendered as, "the charm resembling that of the 'phalinī' creeper grown fast in old days". This new interpretation gives us a beautiful simile, quite common to Sk. poetry, and explains the attractive nature of the beauty of the lady.

V. 744 (d) The word, "vipratīpa' seems to be explained as "without cure." The common meaning of the word, 'vipratīpa' suits the context much better. The lovesick lady wants to convey the idea that her love-fever is quite the opposite of the ordinary disease of fever. The ordinary fever subsides when cool things are applied to the body but, this lovesickness grows more when cool objects are applied to it.

V. 776 (c). Prof. Ingalls interprets the word 'arcana' in the compound 'bhrūbhaṅgārcanavadanalāvaṇyarucibhiḥ' as "sweet voice". This meaning is quite appropriate and most befitting to the context . However, Dr. V. V. Gokhale, one of the editors of the text, checked the 'N' material and found the reading in the MS to bs 'bhrūbhaṅgadhvani.... .... It is quite obvious that the reading in the text was adopted by mistake and is to be corrected.

V. 865 (d). The translator proposes the emendation "kāntim" for "vāntam" and translates it as, "she no more furnishes our eyes delight". The passage may be explained in a better way without an emendation as, vā antam akṣṇor na yāti', "this lady is never seen by our eyes". As 'dyauḥ' has lost her husband (the sun) very recently, she is required to keep herself away from the people in an inner apartment.

V.867 (c) Prof. Ingalls explains the compound skhaladalirasanāsu as "(with) the cry of struggling bees". He then adds the note "As the day-

lotuses close, the bees become imprisoned within them; hence they are here pictured as struggling to escape before the flowers close." I fully agree with the explanation. However, I suggest that the pun on the word 'rasanā' may also be paid attention to.

V.876 (b) Prof. Ingallls explains the long compound, 'atiharitapatra-parikarsaṁpannaspandanaikaviṭapasya', as "with a halo of bright yellow petals growing on the single branch of blackwood". In the note he proposes two emendations, one "syandana" for 'spandana' and 'sampannaḥ' for 'sampanna'.. It is quite possible to explain the whole compound without any emendation. We may explain it as "of the single stalk of the saffron plant, lightly tossed about and having ample foliage of green colour". The sky may be compared to the saffron plant with green leaves, while the sun to yellow flower of the saffron plant. The word 'ghanavasana' also punningly suggests ample fragrance".

V. 883 (b). Prof. Ingalls gives the note, "separate, -śiro from 'nikuñcita", implying that the compound should be split into two parts, 'astopadhānavinihitaravibimbaśiraḥ' and 'nikuñcitadigaṅgaḥ'. But this splitting of the compound cannot be justified as 'astopadhānavinitaravibimbaśiraḥ' in the neture singular cannot be costrued with the masculine 'adhvanyaḥ'. The best way seems to me to take the whole expression as a single compound.

V. 887. (c) The proposed emendation, 'rocyante' for 'śocyante' is not at all required, because the root 'śuc' may be taken to mean "to glitter or to shine". Hence the word 'śocyante' itself may be rendered as, "glittering or lustrous" and hence "beatuiful or charming".

V.873 (c) The compound 'jagannayanahāri' is explained as "which has carried off the sun". I do not see any propriety in this interpretation, because the same idea is already given, of course punningly, by the phrase 'astamite mitre' in 'a'. The phrase may be explained as follows: "one (the darkness) carrying away the faculty of vision of the world."

V.917 (a) The translation of the passage, 'kakubhāṁ nāmāni saṁbibhratam' as "delineates the 4 directions" seems not very convincing. The poet here wants to praise the moon by saying that due to her all the 4 directions have their names. The remark, "this metaphor is a violent one" is not convincing because it is simply based on the resemblance of the colour. The poet treats here the earth as a piece of land, the mountain as a seed and the moon as the sprout due to their respective colours and suitable size.

V.918 (b) Prof. Ingalls construes the expression, 'nijena vapuṣā' with 'indoḥ' at the suggestion of Jīvānanda, However, it would be better if we

construe 'nijena vapuṣā' with 'uḍubhiḥ' because the stars are white and can be compared to the perched grains. The word 'nijaiḥ' in the first line has been construed with 'maṇi' = "gems".

V.920 (a) The word 'parigamāt' is explained in the notes as, 'by possession of'. The compound 'śiśiraparigama' may be explained simply as 'disappearance or passing out of the winter'. The moon assumes its natural beauty in the spring when the winter is over.

V.954 (ah) Prof. Ingalls remarks, in the notes that "the three words, 'dhṛti-pragalbho gaṇḍālī' are unintelligible". Here is an attempt to explain these words. The word 'gaṇḍāli' = gaṇḍadūrvā = "white dūrvā grass" may be taken as a bundle of dúrva grass used as a pillow by the night lady. When the night lady places her cheeks on it, it gets spread out. Hence 'dhṛti' "placing" and 'pragalbha' "spread out".

V.955 (a) The compound 'jyotsnāmugdhavadhūvilāsabhavanam' is explained as, "a place for the sports of damsels, fair as moonlight". It may be explained in a better manner if we take 'jyotsnā' "moonlight" itself as a beautiful lady and naturally the moon will be a dancing hall for that lady. The text seems to be corrupt in 'c'. We have to take 'kalāmṛgadṛśām' as a compound which may be explained as "the beautiful ladies in the form of the fine arts!" The moon then becomes 'premavrataikāśrayaḥ' i.e. "sole recourse of their love".

V.980 (a) The expression 'rathyākārpaṭika' is explained as, "the pilgrim in the street", but why should we take 'kārpaṭika' as a "pilgrim"? 'kārpaṭika' may be taken simply a bard moving early morning in the city-streets reciting devotional songs. In Maharashtra he is known by the name Vāsudeva.

V.985 (b) The translation of the word, 'niṣkūja' as "crying or producing tunes" seems unconvincing. It may be better translated as "silent" or "not-producing any sound", because at midday all the birds rest in their nests due to excessive heat.

V.1014 (c) We find the compound 'gaganadigvalayam' translated as "the horizons' bracelet". There is no propriety here in taking the word 'valaya' as a bracelet. It may be simply translated, 'gagana' as "sky" and 'digvalaya' as "all the directions".

V.1101 (c) The compound expression, 'bahumanorathamanthareṇa' is to be emended as 'bahumanoratham antareṇa'. It may be explained as "with regard to the strong wish or desire". This is appropriate because the 'cātaka' is always described as anxiously waiting for the first showers.

V.1114 (c) The translation "with their flowers, fruits, and foliage" agrees with the 'a' 'sapuṣpapallavaphalān' in 'S' and not with the original reading 'sapuṣpapallavadalān'. Naturally one may expect a note that the 'a' of 'S' has been accepted here for the translation.

V.1118 (d) The capital letter of the word, 'Pāmaris' in the translation suggests that it is taken as the name of a tribe. In the context even the ordinary meaning, "poor, wretched lady" is quite befitting.

V.1146 (a) The translation "sweet with exudation" of the expression 'udgārasurabhi' is not quite convincing, as the buds give out pollen while blooming and not the exudation. Besides, the quality of coolness of the wind is supplied by the 3rd line and hence it is necessary to supply fragrance to the wind, which is possible only when we take 'udgāra' as "pollen".

V.1150 (a) It seems better to emend the reading 'samyakkṛtāsthaḥ' to 'samykkṛtásyaḥ'; which may be simply explained as "with its beak kept straight".

V.1152 (a) The translation of the compound is thoroughly convincing; however the word 'kṣepa' is interpreted as "pulling", and that seems rather strange. If the text 'rajjukṣepa' is emended to 'rajjūtkṣpa' this difficulty will be removed. The translation of 'b' also may be slightly improved by taking 'cheda' "breaking (of the string)". The simple translation will be, "making loud noise of a series of shell bracelets that were shaking to and fro as the thread tying these was torn away". It is a regular practice of village ladies to tie the bracelets with a thread when they do any manual work.

V. 1163 (a) The compound 'unnatavaladvaktrāgrapuccha' is construed as 'unnata-vaktra' and 'valad-agrapuccha' and translated accordingly. The difficulty of a clumsy interpretation may be removed if we emend the text to 'unnatavaladvakrāgrapuccha' which may be translated simply as "with the end of the tail raised high and slightly bent down".

V.1175 (c) The word 'nistṛṇa' in the compound carries no meaning, as there is no propriety in stating that there was no grass in the deserted villages. The text 'nistṛṇa' may be emended safely to -niḥsṛta- which may be explained as "fallen down or crushed down" and easily construed with the old walls.

V. 1185 (d). The word 'ānaccha' is explained as a prakritism of ā+√nṛt in the sense of dancing, in the notes. However, it is not convincing, because 'nritya' will give in prakrit 'nacca' and never 'naccha'. Instead of taking 'ānaccha' let us take 'anaccha', which may be simply explained as 'dark', and hence 'troublesome or harmful.'

V. 1200 (b) Prof. Ingalls proposes many convincing emendations and here the text 'dukūla' is emended to 'kukūla' which is most appropriate.

1272 (c) The expression 'iṣṭavihatau' is translated as "when his will is done". I fully agree with the contextual meaning given here. However, 'vihati' cannot be taken in the sense of "accomplishment or fulfillment". Hence, we will have to emend the text as 'vihiti'.

V. 1281 (a) The translator seems to be misled by the word 'muṇḍā' which he explains as a "goddess of destruction." The simple meaning of the word 'muṇḍī' is 'courtezan' "a woman of bad character". Naturally, a wicked fellow is always attached to the courtezon. The punning word 'āyatiduḥkhadāyin' may be interpreted, with reference to the wicked fellow, as "inflicting pain on all, including the ascetic."

V. 1282 (c) The compound 'tāpakrakacanicayaiḥ' has the word 'tāpa' which carries no meaning and Prof. Ingalls has simply omitted it in his translation. If the text is emended to 'tāvat krakacanicayaiḥ' the difficulty is set aside very easily.

V. 1308 (d) The emendation 'prātarhutiḥ' for 'prāṇāhutiḥ' and its explanation as "sacrificial oblation" is not at all required here. 'prāṇāhutidāna' may be idiomatically taken in the sense of having meals. Even to-day, orthodox brahmanas swallow five morsels as 'prāṇāhutis' before they take their meals.

V. 1311 (d) Prof. Ingalls translates the word 'rajanīvirāmam' as "evening", "rest from the work", which is not acceptable in this case, because the poor lady expects the night to continue for ever, so that she may be relieved from the worries of collecting food for her children next day.

V. 1312 (a). The phrase 'saktūn śocati samplutān' is translated as "she dries the flooded barley grains". I think the common meaning of the root 'śuc' "to weep, to lament" is more befitting. The poor lady weeps as the barley grains get flooded due to heavy rains.

V. 1313 (a). Sometimes even a simple verse creates confusion in the mind of great scholars. The translation of this verse is an example of this fact. The second half of this verse refers to the wife of the poor fellow, but, in the translation, it is explained as referring to the poor fellow himself. And lastly the word gṛhiṇī' is explained, with a predicate supplied to it, as, "I am a wife". The second half may be simply paraphrased as "(my) wife also, is a distinct literary figure, as she is capable of destributing a small quantity of rotten food.

V. 1328 (c) This may be cited as a fine example of the convincing emendations introduced by Prof. Ingalls.

V. 1345 (c). The line 'ka ete, saṁbandhān malayamarutaś cūtataravaḥ, may be emended as 'kim ete sambaddhā malayamarutā cūtatarvaḥ" and may be simply translated as, "are the mangos related to the southern breezes?".

V. 1381 (d) Prof. Ingalls remarks in the notes, "I have expanded the line in translating in order to have its full sense". It seems he has expanded it too much, because there is no reference to the closing of the lotuses in that line. The word 'paṅkeruha' cannot be taken as a sun-lotus. It seems that the poet wants to convey the idea that the dust rose so high in the sky that it reached the lotuses in the heavenly Ganges and established contact or family relation with them.

V. 1394 (a) The learned translator in this case has been led away by the simple expression 'duḥśravaḥ' "difficult to be heard". The translation of the compound expression, 'kambukarparacalattarkudhvaniḥ' is found as, "noise of shells, pots, and spindles". The word 'calat' seems to be dropped out conveniently. The line may be translated as "(formerly) in whose houses the annoying sound of the spindle moving on a round piece of conchshell could be alone heard".

V. 1401 (a) The learned translator many a time gives very convincing and interesting explanations and proposes very appropriate emendations. The text found to be 'pītisāra' is rightly emended as 'pītasāra' and explained as "either a topaz or sandalwood." The remark, 'the frogs get lighter in the monsoon' supplies an appropriate explanation.

V. 1409 (c) The reading 'mukho' has been rightly emended here to 'sukho'. However the translation of the word 'nidrāvinoda' as "morning dream" seems not very convincing, as we do not know whether the animals, too, enjoy dreams. Besides, the general meaning of the word 'vinoda' as "going away", "vanishing", is better applied here. As it was early morning the bear must be gradually awaking and with great joy might have opened its eyes.

V. 1416 (d) The text reads 'nadīvālikāḥ' and is rightly explained as "sand on the bank". In such cases one may expect a note hinting at the adoption of the V. L. from 'S'.

V. 1541 (c). A minor point is worth noting here, though the text reads 'bhinnabhrnvā' as one word we have to take it as 'bhinnabhru' and 'vā' separately.

V. 1566 (d) Very often the learned translator supplies the appropriate words missing in the texts and this a very good example of the same.

V. 1590 (b) We find an emendation 'ghorabhujaga' for 'ghoraduraga'. But in this case it is possible to explain the original reading quite satisfactorily. We have a root "ghur—ghorati" "to snore" and hence 'ghoraduraga' may be taken as" a snake relieving terrific sighs".

V. 1593 (d) The translation of the whole compound becomes unsatisfactory as the significance of the two expressions balavairivāraṇa' and 'abhrasindhu', is not properly understood or has been missed. The simple translation of the compound may be "the devdars getting drenched on account of the dripping of the heavenly river through the holes made in the sky by the recent blows of Indra's elephant".

It is most fortunate that inspite of his other occupations Prof. Ingalls found time to translate such a big arthology with a good number of obscure verses. Both the layman and the Sanskrit scholars will remain thankful to him for this work.

V. W. Paranjpe

Spoken Marathi. Book I First-year intensive course. By Naresh B. KAVADI and Franklin C. SOUTHWORTH. Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964 (actually released in 1965). 252 pp. $ 5.00.

This book is based on work carried out at the South Asia Regional Studies, University of Pennsylvania under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education. Both the authors have had experience in teaching Marathi to English-knowing Westerners and have utilized this experience in preparing the book and in revising its earlier unpublished versions. The keywords in the title are, of course, 'spoken' and 'intensive', and the book is true to the by-now-familiar American pattern of such a course—the use of careful phonological and grammatical analysis on modern lines as a base; the division of a lesson into conversational material based on everyday situations, grammatical explanations, and exercises based on either; and the limiting of the use of translations to the glossing of conversational sentences and illustrations in the grammatical explanations in the body of the text and to the two bilingual vocabularies at the end (there are no translation exercises).

The authors have taken the word 'spoken', however, a little too seriously. The Devanagari script as used for writing Marathi is not introduced at all. The authors use Roman phonemic transcription throughout and cheerfully refer the reader to Miss H. M. LAMBERT's books on Marathi and Devanagari. (Actually Miss LAMBERT's *Marathi language course* is long out of print and the book under review fills a badly felt need.) The transcription used is adequate and is explained in the note on pronounciation at the beginning. It even makes a tentative attempt to represent intonational features such as pitch contours, sentence accent, and pause-like divisions. The use of/both for rising pitch and alternation is a little awkward (see p. 31, last line for example) as is also the occasional lapse into ordinary punctuation (p. 33 l. 6) and the occasional use of ' for the apostrophe of vowel elision (p. 37, the first two lines of conversation 6A). A few transcriptions may be disputed—for example, yunivarsiṭi (p. 23 and throughout) should be yunivharsiṭi and the greetings namaskar and namaste should have the accent on the last but one syllable (the accent shown in the book on the final syllable seems to be based on a misinterpretation of the greeting intonation). But such instances are happily very few.

The grammatical information and its selection and ordering for presentation is satisfactory. The postponement of a full-scale treatment of the so-called compound verbs beyond the first year was perhaps a wise decision. The major complexities of verbal concord have to be faced early : the authors have taken them up in Units 7, 8, 9 in a determined fashion, they falter somewhat, however, in Unit 17. Even in a simplified treatment the statement 'The suffix-*ava* varies in the same way as the perfect suffix of the verb' cannot stand without at least the qualification 'except for intransitive verbs' especially when examples which do not fit the authors' generalization stare the reader in the face a couple of lines earlier in the same section.

In the case of languages like Hindi, the bigger demand for such texts leaves room for alternate courses differing in emphasis and specialized to meet specific needs. With a language like Marathi, where this is not true, the text material should be more catholic. Though the authors do not bother to build up any illusion of dramatic continuity (the dramatis personae of the conversations are just plain x and y), there is a loose thread—the American making himself at home in a Marathi neighbourhood and timidly venturing into the smallest small talk. Perhaps they have put off giving more ambitious material like cultural small talk or narrative to Book II. Alice found books boring if they had no pictures or dialogues. I do not know how she would feel about this book.

The exercises are of two types. Attached to the grammar units are insertion, substitution, and conversation drills. Attached to the conversations

are variations on the theme, question and answer drills, and situation-defined guided conversation drills which partially do duty for periodic reviews which are not formally presented in this book but left to the discretion of the instructor. As is the common practice in such intensive spoken courses, the building up of vocabulary is left to take care of itself. The authors have paid special attention, however, in the footnotes and occasionally in the grammatical explanations to bringing out the idiomatic uses of the items introduced.

The book can reasonably look forward to an early second edition and to an early publication of its sequel. This will undoubtedly give the authors a well-deserved opportunity to make the book even more useful by redressing some of the minor imbalances noted earlier and by making a cheaper edition available.

Ashok R. Kelkar

Kolam, by Bhau MANDAVKAR, Seva Prakashan, Amaravati; 1966, pp. 428, price Rs. 20.

This is a book written in Marathi on Kolam, a tribe speaking a Central Dravidian language called Kolami, and inhabiting mainly the Yeotmal district of Maharastra and also some of the neighbouring districts. According to 1961 census, their total number is 51,055.

The book consists of eleven chapters of which the first ten deal with the people, their life, culture, economy, health and development. And the last chapter deals with their language. It contains a few remarks on earlier publications, some on the language itself and its lexicon (10 pages in all), some folk songs (11 pages), a list of sentences with Marathi translation (7 pages) and a vocabulary (83 pages).

Since books of this nature are rarely produced in the regional languages, the present one must be warmly welcomed. Its printing and get up are extremely good. The author has taken much pains in gathering a lot of interesting material, and has done it with love and enthusiasm.

As far as the language is concerned, there is an authoritative grammar[1] written by EMENEAU, which was published twelve years ago. It gives a masterly treatment of the subject as one can expect from the pen of an eminent scholar like him. It is unfortunate, however, that the author of the book under review, without taking enough trouble to understand it properly, has attempted to criticize EMENEAU's grammar. For example, on page 314, he says that EMENEAU added a *t* to Kolami words, which according to him,

does not actually occur in Kolami. To quote EMENEAU in this respect, "Each Kolami verb is identified by two forms, the stem and the stem plus the past suffix".[2] Thus the *t*'s referred to by MANDAVKAR were actually the past suffixes occurring in Kolami. He had somehow felt that this *t* must have been an impediment (अडचण) created by the fact that the earlier writers were forced to use the Roman script !

MANDAVKAR, of course, used Devnagari for transcribing Kolami words in his book. He does not use any modified symbols, and evidently he cannot represent the two sets of vowels, e, ē and o, ō currectly, which, according to EMENEAU, are distinct in Kolami.[3] What is, however, more unfortunate is that, the author was not able to use even the symbols which already exist in Devnagari in a proper and consistent manner. For example, Kolami makes a two-fold distinction of length in vowels *a*, *i* and *u* in addition to *e* and *o*[4]. The author uses आ to represent both *a* and *ā*, इ for *i* and ī, and उ for *u* and *ū*. Even here he is not consistent, since he uses the other symbols अ, ई and ऊ also for some of the items, and in a great number of words, he gives both as alternants. And, what is most disheartening is that, while giving cross-references to EMENEAU and other earlier writers, he very frequently quotes them wrongly. EMENEAU uses a single raised dot to represent vowel length. MANDAVKAR, perhaps, failed to read the significance of this dot, because, he sometimes transliterates it with a long vowel in Devnagari and sometimes with a short vowel. The word for 'village', for example, is *u·r* in EMENEAU's book and *ūr* in that of Setumadhava RAO, as quoted by EMENEAU. MANDAVKAR quotes EMENEAU as उर and Sethumadhava RAO as ऊर, 'To squeeze' is *pi·nḍ* in EMENEAU's book, but is quoted as पिंड by the present author. Such mistakes are innumerable, and evidently, one cannot make any use of his vocabulary.

On page 51, and again on page 309, the author tries to argue that Kolami should be considered as the mother of many Dravidian languages like Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu. The fact that Kolami retains the Dravidian numerals from one to five only draws his comment on page 310 that it was due to the limitations of their life; and on the same page he also writes that Kolami has no neuter gender.[5] These statements, evidently, do not need any further comment.

D. N. S. Bhat

Footnotes

1. *Kolami, A Dravidian Language*, by M. B. *Emeneau*, University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 12, 1955.
2. Ibid, p. 176.
3, 4. Ibid, p. 6.
5. Ibid, p. 43.

A Graphemic Phonemic Study of a Middle English Manuscript—
by John C. McLAUGHLIN, Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1963, 162 pp.

This study is an excellent demonstration of a method of describing a particular writing system and correlating it to the phonemic system it refers to. It presents a complete description of the writing system of a Middle English manuscript, known as Cotton Nero A. X., independent of the spoken system of that language. All the available evidence from the written material form the basis of critical assumptions to reconstruct a phonemic system. The study attempts to provide preliminary codification of a system of alphabetic writing in the chapter "The Graphemic System."

The following pages consider in great detail the problems about determining the significance of the spelling variations with a wide variety to the phonetic system of the language of the manuscript. Investigation of a living language must deal with the spoken system first and then the writing system. Each one may be described independently. But when it comes to their relationship with each other, comparative method alone proves helpful. Of course, a general theory of the relationship between the mode of writing a language and its spoken expression is hardly possible whether one regards writing as simply a device for transcribing speech or as an independent manifestation of language. One can, however, make proper use of available written material as evidence about the spoken language only by rightly understanding the limitations of correlation between writing and speech. In the present study writing system is considered to be a point of departure only and the structure of that system is not assumed to represent structure of the spoken system. Phonology of a language thus outlined on the base of a written system is evidently bound to be particular rather than universay.

The purpose of graphic analysis can be to establish written idiolect of a text. Texts written in a certain period may show common features if the scribes who wrote them spoke the same dialect. An overall pattern can also be outlined. Though the description of writing system of the manuscript in the present book does not in itself prove anything, similar studies of texts belonging to the same period and region will help to produce quite useful results on comparison. The value of graphic linguistics as applied here is only hypothetical.

The second chapter presents the graphemic and graphonemic theory worthy of a broad application while the chapter on graphonemic system gives a clear picture of the fit relationship between the graphemic system and the phonemic system of the manuscript.

M. G. Panse

Bhāṣāvijñānda mūla tatvagaḷu, (in Kannada) by M. Chidananda Murti, published by D. V. K. Murti, Mysore, 1965, xi + 171 pp.

This Kannada book is a pretty good introduction to some of the general aspects of linguistics. Written in an easy and flowing style, it shows the enthusiasm of the author throughout, and can surely attract at least some converts to the subject of linguistics. There are thirteen chapters dealing with topics such as what is language, origin of language, classification of languages, linguistic change, sound change, semantic change, borrowing, analogical change, idiolect, dialect and dialectology, phonetics, descreptive, historical and comparative linguistics, history of linguistics and writing. The appendics contains a bibliography, a list of technical terms, index, a diagram of the organs of speech and a reproduction of the IPA chart.

As could be seen from the list of contents given above, the book is mainly concerned with the comparative and historical study of languages. The author deals with these topics quite competently, though there are some mistakes which look rather glaring, especially because of the standard otherwise kept up by the author. On pages 100 and 104, for example, the author states that the vowels are all voiced. This, of course, is wrong. One *can* produce voiceless vowels, and languages like Kashmiri *do* possess them.

On page 108, he says that synchronic linguistics is another name for descriptive linguistics; synchronic study however, can also be comparative, and the author has evidently missed this point. Similarly, his statement on page 108 that comparative linguistics is a part of historical linguistics is evidently wrong.

The stops *p* and *b* are said to be non-contrastive in German on p. 111, which is another factual error. The two sounds are non-contrastive in the final position only and not in all positions in that language.

Some of the arguements put forth by the author in these chapters also appear to be rather odd. His statements on page 21 on geographical classifications are good examples to this. He argues that the geographical or areal classifications of language are neither good nor scientific and nobody is found to recommend them. He cites the languages of India as an instance, which, according to him, could not be included in a single class. However, the languages of India *do* form a class of their own according to linguists like Emeneau and Jules Bloch. The author seems to give no credit whatsoever to arguements on which the theory of area linguistics is based.

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On pages 122 and 123, the author argues that people throw away their language and take a different one, the moment a grammarian comes up with

a strict and solid grammar of their language, which is really odd. He cites the instances of Paṇini and Hemachandra doing this trick to Sanskrit and Prakrit languages. If the author's arguements are true, our government will have practically no language problem, because it can employ linguists to prepare very strict grammars on these quarrelling languages and thus make the people abandon them one by one.

Though some of the points noted above do bring down the general standard of the book, they are not many and can also be easily mended. The list of technical terms (containing about 175 items) is useful, though a few of them such as *akrama rūpa* for irregular form, *kṣullaka* for uncultivated (languages) *vyatyāsa* used for both difference and change may not be acceptable to all. These comments apart, the book is an excellent introduction in Kannada to linguistics.

D. N. S. Bhat

The Embroidery and Beadwork of Kutch and Saurashtra — by
J. M. NANAVATI, M. P. VORA, M. A. DHAKY.
Museum Monograph Series, Department of Archaeology.
Gujarat State, Ahmedabad, 1966.
P. 125, Plates 118. Rs. 45.00.

The art of embroidery and beadwork pursued assiduously by the people of Kutch and Saurashtra and which is famous for its highly colourful and gorgeous products has now received its due share of scholarly attention through this spendidly brought out volume. The authors are well known students of Indian, especially Gujrati art and architecture. The present work is based on a survey and collection of works of embroidery and beadwork undertaken by the State Department of Archaeology during the last ten years. Specimens in the collection of earlier connoisseurs have also been utilized to present a complete history and appreciation of this craft.

The work resolves itself into two broad sections, one dealing with embroidery and the other with beadwork. In both the sections the authors have taken note of all aspects of the crafts. The materials used, the preference in colour-schemes and designs, the nature and type of objects manufactured by the arstists; the sources of patronage and also of artistic inspiration have been clearly brought forth. So also the various schools like Mochi, Mahajan and Kathi have received full attention. Numerous line-drawings and photographs go in to illustrate the arguments.

The study of these works of art is extremely revealing, for it shows clearly that something that in the beginning was a folk art is soon appropriated by the classes and it no longer remains a hobby but becomes an industry. Not only that, but the various artistic motifs of this so-called folk-art are derived from classical sources — on the one hand Mughal painting and on the other, the rich and elaborate reportorie of religious motifs from the art of the Vaishnavas. Of the large variety of pictures — designs and motifs-illustrated in this work, very few could be aptly termed 'folk' art. Apart from this dependence on artistic inspiration, the necessary material support has also come from the classes. With the disappearance of the princely States this source has dried up and all activity has apparently come to a standstill. Another factor noteworthy in this connection is the practical lack of experimentation. Once, and that time was apparently not far removed from the beginning, certain motifs and techniques were accepted the later generations were engrossed in their repetition. If at all, there is variation in their arrangement, colour-schemes remain the same. All these factors, better summed up in the word stagnation — shortened the life span of the art.

A word about the language used in the book is however, necessary. Very often it has become highly artificial through use of words and phrases of foreign extraction and of uncommon use. This does not reduce the value of the work in any manner and it can be said without any exaggeration that the book is a must for every library dealing with Indian art.

M. S. Mate.

A Small Town in Changing Saurashtra : Earning One's Livelihood in Mahuva, by (Mrs.) D. P. PANDIT, Bombay : Asia Publishing House, 1965 vii + 96 pp. Rs. 12.00.

Small towns in India have not come under sociologists' or economists' observation and investigation as much as big cities with industrial or commercial background. These, so to say, are sandwiched between cities and villages and their dynamics go unnoticed. Mrs. Pandit's study of Mahuva, especially of the most sensitive sector of the town's life, has to be viewed in the light of her meaningful disentanglement of the social processes in relation to earning of livelihood in Mahuva.

Small Towns in the Regional Setting

In the regional set up of India, towns in different regions reflect essen-

tially regional features. Common problems no doubt exist, but these pertain and/or are the outcome of what is termed as 'secularization' (modernization-Westernization, industrialization and urbanization).

A town of the size of Mahuva in Maharashtra may not have the same patterns of occupational choice as they have been noted by Mrs. Pandit in Mahuva. Until about Independence in Maharashtra, business, (commerce and industry) was rated low, and services and professions were preferred in the scale of values. Enterpreneurs have been slow to come forward under this particular complex.

The foci of Mrs. Pandit's study are 'push' and 'pull' criteria. In the context of caste-oriented occupations, Mrs. Pandit's interpretation of 'push' and 'pull' needs further analysis. If 'push' is circumstantial and 'pull' is 'ambitional', how come the statement "To look for these forces *without references to economic advantage* is the essence of studying total social implications of any change". (Emphasis supplied). The reviewer feels, that the economic advantage cannot be ignored, and it has not been ignored by Mrs. Pandit in her analysis despite this statement.

Mrs. Pandit's approach veers round three ingredients in the choice of occupations in relation to caste norms. These are (1) manual or physical labour, (2) skill and (3) independence. These have been further elucidated by reference to the 'range' and the 'base area'. Precisely these give structure to the findings. With the limited sample, Mrs. Pandit has been able to attain proficiency in the analysis, because of the identification of structural specificities in Mahuva. This identification is all the more creditable as it presupposes a perceptive grasp of the situation.

The Ingredients

In the determination of the range, religion, family tradition and caste have been considered and have been found of varying significance in Mahuva. That the situation is not simple can be discerned from the way religion and family tradition affect the margin of choice. Their influuence is not entirely rejected, but it is found to be negative. Caste norms seem to be of greater significance than religion or family tradition, as they determine individuals' preference and to some extent 'pull' and 'push'. Mrs. Pandit's elucidation of positive and negative attitudes shows her insight at the micro-level. That she is not satisfied wih broad generalizations and probes deeper into motivations and attitudes can be seen from her analysis of ingredients, their meaning and their balancing, on pages 34-36. With such a small sample, it is likely that her findings may not reflect the entirely true state of affairs, but the trends can be marked and further research may prove rewarding.

Caste Based Approach

The general picture that emerges is that of continuous adjustment. The only doubt that is to be accounted for is : would not this occupational adjustment within the 'base-area' break down when the change occurs in a big way? This question has been left unanswered by the writer. What she has suggested is that conflict is not to be ruled out. The writer's choice of three mutually exclusive ingredients have rather hampered her analysis. When a society is changing, instead of sharp contrasts, overlaps are common. When caste-based occupations break down, if one has enough capital and initiative, one gets into business and if one is without capital, one seeks jobs. Mahuva being a small town, its orientation is towards ascribed status, and particularization in the selection of employees. This engenders personal rather than formal patterns of interaction and exaggerates caste-boundness.

In a town like Mahuva, with the limited culture contact and the domination of business norms, the patterns observable need not surprise us. In Saurashtra, there is an accepted hierarchy of castes and the Banias, the Lohanas and the Bhatias, have acquired independendent status through the possession of wealth. The Brahmins are considerably impelled by business norms. If they are not in business, that is not because it is against caste norms, though they do rationalize by saying "business and truth go ill together and our caste cannot do that". The real reason may be the absence of the spirit of enterpreneurship, a capacity to take risk and wait.

The Normative Orientation

From Mrs. Pandit's description of the dynamics of occupational caste complex, one gets an impression that social change takes place whithin the permissible circle of interaction. In deviating from caste norms, conformity to what is considered caste norms is not sacrificed. It may be, over a longer period caste norms may change, and the point of equilibrim may remain shifting. What is skilled work or what is white-collar may remain subjective, as even an imagined fall from the caste-status.

In the discussion of 'potential deviants' Mrs. Pandit has left the subject open for difference. Since time out of mind, deviants in India have ended up by adding one more caste and developed rigidity of behaviour. What 'development sociologists' refer to as deviants minority, may not be of one caste. The question arises as regards, whether these deviants would remain free floating belonging as they would do to different castes, and not end up as a caste? We cannot compare the rise of new sects like that of Swaminarayan, Sikhism and Vaishnavism, with the rise of protestant ethic, because the former three have not been able to totally discard restrictions and rigidity of Hinduism

while the latter has been successful in throwing aside the then existing restraints, in religious and economic fields. Researches have shown that protestant ethic was helped by social and economic opportunities of the period, and credit given to protestant ethic for the development of capitalism is not totally justified. What is happening in India is, that in every caste, there is a deviant minority. And it is this, that bears the burden of change. Mrs. Pandit is on right lines when she avers, "The range of delimited choice does exist for the people of Mahuva, but it does not exist for all groups and persons. There are many who, somehow, know no rigidity at present. They are our entreprenuerial growth points, where people have a high propensity to save and to take risk, and to work hard for both. Whenever they perceive economic opportunities for social rise etc. Having spotted these rangeless men of drive, we might ask, would they create a range for themselves at some point in the rising up process?"

Education and Deviant Behaviour

In the present changing norms of India, it is these individuals of different castes that may engender break through without closing their rank into their respective castes. In a town like Mahuva, where academic orientation is conspicuously absent, such break-through, via education may not fructify. Wealth does not help either. As wealth without cultural-oppertenances that accompany education and wider contacts, may remain a caste–preserve.

The impact of education in Mahuva seems to be selective as is seen from the Sample provided by Mrs. Pandit. Stray cases noted by her of attitudes towards work of educated individuals of high and low castes are suggestive, but not conclusive. That even low castes have their norms cannot be ruled out. In Saurashtra there are many groups like Bharwads, the Rabaris, the Ahers, the Mehers, etc. who are on the fringe of Hinduism and may not be enamoured of 'Sanskritization', unlike the Chambhars and the Mangs, in Maharashtra. It is a matter for investigation and not of supposition, if such 'folks' in Saurashtra possess anything like incipient caste groups which keep them rigidly attached to their way of life, or whether they are acculturating norms of other Hinduised castes. In short, this study would shed light on folk–peasant–urban continuum.

One need not be surprised at the cold reception to education by respondents in the sample. The members of the trading castes of Saurashtra, first plunged headlong in trade either in their native towns or abroad and later after acquiring status through their wealth, directed their sons and daughters in educational field. This new rich have donated crores of rupees to the educational institutions, but they have not acquired taste for education.

The New Elite

As regards, what Mrs. Pandit designates as 'semi-sanskritized, pseudo westernized modern high brows', her optimism has to be confirmed by future research. No doubt they are precursors of the new elite who are rising as participants in the Co-operatives (Maharashtra) and the small industries (Saurashtra). The members of this class are politically conscious and aspire to set a style of their own. In Saurashtra, they are found to give preference to technical education, because that helps in their small enterprise. In Maharashtra, the high caste model is repeated. Some go in for engineering education. Blue-collar work comes last and thus small entrepreneures in Maharashtra are not so easily spotted. As against this, education in Saurashtra, even as a status symbol, 'an opening wedge' is not widely acclaimed.

The Employer-Employee Complex.

Mrs. Pandit's observations regarding the employer–employee relations are pertinent. The percentage of non-employee in Mahuva is significantly large. In a town like Mahuva if kinship and caste count, it is what is expected. Mistake was made by hasty observers of social life, who imagined, without empirical base, that castes do not matter in urban settings. That this emphasis on personal relations is equally dominant among the Muslims can be judged from Mrs. Pandit's findings. In Malegaon (Nasik Dist.) where Muslims dominate in handloom and powerloom industry — the employees are by and large the kinds of the handloom powerloom owners. This has inflated the Musliim population of Malegaon which is 70%.

In terms of modern sociological conceptual framework, it seems, 'ascriptive' and 'particularism' in job prevail in Mahuva as against achievement and universalism. That the Bhahmins do not come under this category, is obviously due to their service status in bureaucratic organization, where impersonal relations are emphasized. Further study may reveal that the employees find a way out of impersonal relations in forming groups on caste and kin basis.

Foreign Sociologists have commented on this particular personal and non-specific nature of employer-employee relations. Mrs. Pandit has shown as to how personal relations are functional in maintaining social equilibrium and in avoiding conflicts in work situation. The whole work configuration in Mahuva is delicately balanced on caste-kin-personal and non-specific nature of employer-employee relations. In Nasik the same absence of tension was prevalent about ten years back where the employers knew the employees personally. But in Nasik employees did have inclination to be entrepreneurs, which *ipso facto* gave rise to Unions and strikes, Nearness to Bombay helped in spreading

union psychology — what is termed as 'extra-community' influences. As the writer of the book under review underscores, "the basic social framework is able to cope with universal strain of the employee status in Mahuva so long as the employers as well as employees are drawn from the same local society". (p. 77)

The Rise of Entrepreneurs.

In all traditional towns, possibilities of change exist only through the initiative of individuals who are willing to take risk. The non-employees are so placed that with their money and independent position, they can foot the bill. New entrepreneurs are coming forward as and when opportunities arise and capital accumulate. To begin with, the whole family resources may be pooled together. Saurashtra is known for this sort of entrepreneurship and with the favourable climate provided by the State Government, it is not surprising that in Mahuva a spirit of experimentation is displayed by its enlightened and enterprising citizens. However, one hopes that this undue enthusiasm shown by the writer is not based on her personal predilections. This doubt arises, as the sample is unduly narrow for any broad generalization.

Some Facts about Employers.

In chapter IV Mrs. Pandit examines in detail the dynamics of non-employee status in Mahuva. From the point of family income (her approach is family oriented, not individual or household oriented), as per her findings 90 percent of the families in the sample had in 1958 less than Rs. 500/– per head per year. One need not object to the use of categories rather than precise income. What makes her conclusion purely personal is her obvious preference for the non-employees. What is happening in Mahuva may not be true of other places. It seems in her sample non-employees have fared comparatively better. One may add, that by and large employees have to depend on their fixed salaries, while the non-employees generally do better because of their reliance on maximisation of gains. Salaried people have never been multi-millionaires!

Mrs. Pandit has relied for explanation of the process on the subtle changes in the pattern discernible in Mahuva. According to her, though by and large old commercial families are slowly disintegrating, a few of them are reviving while some new families are coming to the forefront. The vacancy created by the earlier generation is more than filled up. Yet, one may hesitate to agree with the writer that the change displayed in the Municipal administration is a part of the upsurge — that is expressed through "building the social overheads, shaping the new elite and forging the changed elite-norms and roles by one of those silent processes that precide any major economic reorgani-

zation". In the concluding chapter, the author puts together her findings to arrive at some definite point of view. After considering her difficulties as per her sample, she suggests two criteria — caste and economic factor, for understanding what is happening in Mahuva.

She puts down recent changes to the economic push, and not to urbanization. As for the caste pattern the new arrivals of the lower castes are invariably in blue-colllar work, while from among the high caste families, the general preference either of the old timers or of the late-comers is for the white-collar work. A late comer bania goes in for white-collar work, while an old-timer from the low caste continues to be in the blue-collar work. That this is not due entirely to 'urbanism' is made clear by the author. Most of the new arrivals are pushed and belong to low caste agricultural labourers, while of those who are already settled in Mahuva significantly large percentage is of high caste. According to the author, it is the caste that is more descisive in the settlement pattern of the immigrants. In the case of education also the caste-impact determines the choice or otherwise blue collar work.

Mrs. Pandit concedes that it is the economic factor that determines the direction of change in the urban population. But how this change works its way is dependent on the existing norms of the people. Different people in the existing caste set-up view the given economic oportunities in terms of accepted values e.g. avoidance of blue collar work by the high caste. The ascribed status of an individual is a determining factor in his achievement motivation.

One is reminded of Durkheim's emphasis on the non-contractual element in the contract. In the supply and demand of labour it is not purely what has been referred to as identity of interests existing under that particular situation that determines actions of parties concerned. The norms and values of the society to which the participating individuals belong sustain the market and direct the actions of individuals. As and when new economic opportunities arise in Mahuva, different castes react differently according to the accepted caste-norms. This is how non-economic factors influence economic activities.

The Ascribed Status

Mrs. Pandit has used status as a mark of distinction and related certain occupations to such status distinctions. Attachment to particular occupation is shown to be based on its being a caste-occupation. Application of range modifies but does not altogether eliminate this particular correlation. In the current sociological analysis, distinction is made between achieved status and

ascribed status. The groups which are referred to as status and status-less, belong to the ascribed status categories. It may be high status or low status, but all caste groups have status in the caste hierarchy. In the context of change, exceptions apart, no caste is following its caste occupation rigidly. The Brahmins have chosen business, and the landowners have moved to cities and have entered various occupations, which provide maximum profits. To ear-mark a particular occupation as status occupation would indicate purely one's preference. In occupations where competition is admitted, one has opportunity to achieve status. It may be pointed out that so-called status-less groups have heir own caste ethos. In Maharashtra, researches on scheduled-castes have shown that there is a hierarchy amongst them in which the Chambhars are at the top and the Mangs and the Dhors are at the bottom. Similar research in Saurashtra may prove fruitful. A change in occupation, does not affect the ascribed status of a caste. What is happening is a movement from ascribed to achieved status. In this caste-norms do play an important — nay — significant part.

The Dynamics of Caste Behaviour.

Most of our studies have concentrated on the behaviour patterns of higher castes, their preferance for white collar work, and the avoidance of the blue collar work. The intermediate castes of village artisans — the new settlers in urban areas, as well as other groups of lower castes have plunged into education & training without any bias, and have acquired a taste for western models, that is not influenced by any earlier orientation to Brahmanic tradition. They may retain their caste-norms, but that may not prevent them from broad basing their choice. A tractor driver need not be a farmer. He can belong to any caste. Creativity of such groups may be exaggerated, but it cannot be doubted that they are mobile groups and given economic opportunities, some of them may turn out to be vital links in a break through.

That employer-employee relations in Mahuva have not attained impersonal dimension on account of the system of recruitment, which is not based on advertisement, interview or merit, but relies on personal consideration is understandable. As the analysis of the sample underscores Mahuva is still dominated by caste-norms in the selection of personnel.

One hesitates to accept Mrs. Pandit's statement that "the relations do not seem to pass from status to contract at all, when the "two sides" ***belong to one whole***", (Italics supplied), because, the situation of conflict arises, even where caste-norms are not discarded. On the contrary, caste-norms act as motive force and it is not necessary to have a transition from a status to contract. That Mahuva has not developed such caste-tensions is itself sociologically relevant. It would require micro-study of employer-employee relations

before any generalization can be made about the caste-employer-employee complex in Mahuva.

Inter disciplinary Understanding

This study of a small town in Saurashtra within the framework of caste-norms, is in a way path-breaking. It shows how the people of Mahuva (if the sample is any indication) react to changing situation, within the determined caste range. In the case of some castes, formal education follows improvement in economic status in the given urban set-up, economic opoortunities as and when they arise, change the course of events and provide a fillip for further change. It is this particular complex, that makes perhaps Mrs. Pandit to conclude (on the basis of census data and her study) that Mahuva is turning industrial, rather than retaining its commercial orientation. This is true to many small towns with commercial background what with Government aid to small industries and other facilities. If small entrepreneurs are forthcoming and in Mahuva they are, industrial complex can be easily established.

Mrs. Pandit's attempt is commendable as it shows insight into social processes at the micro-level. With such a small sample (both an advantage and a drawback) she has displayed an unusual finese in unravelling an aspect of the structure of a small town, which penetrates far beyond that aspect, into the totality of the social system.

The book has five chapters but no index. Every chapter has subheadings which are of immense help in following the author's approach. The book is a veritable proof of interdisciplinary understanding. The book indeed provides much food for thought to those who would like to discover 'soft spots' and 'vulnerable' areas of Indian social structure to precipitate social change.

H. Acharya

Doutrina Christan; Ed. A. K. PRIYOLKAR, Pune Vidyapeeth Gadya-Padyamala, No. 5, Poona : Poona University, 1965 pp. 24+76+44.

Prof. A. K. PRIYOLKAR is well-known for his research work in connection with the Portuguese Missionaries from Goa. Christian Missionaries acknowledge his authority on their religious Marathi literature. Priyokar's chief role is to edit his material gathered with irrepressible zeal for minute details of authentic information. Dr. S. K. CHATTERJI, the patriarch of Indian linguists, has expressed his happiness "with the *generally* excellent quality of this edition, quite in keeping with Prof. Priyolkar's reputation. This book will be of very great value, not only in the intensive study of Marathi and Konkani, but also in the Comparative study of the New Indo-Aryan speeches."

This *Doutrina* as preached by Fr. Stephens represents the earliest specimen of Konkani spoken in Goa in the first quarter of the 17th century

A.D. and hence is of importance to a student of language. To justify his abstaining from probing into the problem of conversation of the natives of Goa Priolkar makes it clear that the purpose of this edition is not religious. It is linguistic. In fact the chief purpose of this edition is much more limited to being a transliteration of the Konkani text from the Roman script into Devanagari. This circumscribes the scope of its review keeping linguistic observations out of bounds.

The edition contains reproduction of the face page of the original DOVTRINA CHRISTAM EM LINGOA BRAMANA CANARIM by Padre Thomas Esteuaõ printed in 1622 A. D. along with the creast "sentissimo sacramento" and the monogram of Jesus. Translation into Marathi of the three short permits to print the first edition would have been more interesting, if the original text of these permits were given. After the text in Devanagari there is "Method of Serving Mass" translated from Latin into English by Fr. LOBO. Marathi translation of this part could have been quite fitting in this edition which aims at losing nothing from its original.

Introduction deals with the history of catechistic literature of the Christian Church, St. Xavier's method of preaching in Goa and literary work of Fr. Stephens. Prof. Priyolkar informs us that Thomas MAURAÕ, the Baron of Kumbharjuwẽ (1842-1904 A.D.) was the first to have transliterated Stephens *Doutrina Christam* into Devanagari. It could not see the light of the day before it was noticed to be missing. Priyolkar transliterates the text not from Fr. Stephen's original first edition, but from the 2nd edition of *Doutrina Christam* edited by Dr. Mariano SALDANHA of the University of Lisbon. Dr. SALDANHA has gone through the proof-sheets of the first form of this transliteration and offered suggestions to Prof. Priyolkar. Thus this edition is expected to be authentic. To explain the method of transliteration, we find a table of Devanagari letters with corresponding Roman letters and an illustration in support.

A casual glance at the Devanagari text shows incompleteness of the table and scrutiny reveals many inconsistencies, major and minor.

The first thing that strikes one's notice is the absence of letters अॅ and ऑ representing the sounds ə and ɔ occuring so often in the first form even in the titles of chapters. In spite of frequent appearance of forms like जेजू, जेजूस, जेजूचे, ब्रूग etc. the table shows blanks in both the columns against ऊ emphasizing in the foot-note that there is no provision in the Roman script to show this sound. On the next page, however, one reads that *ũ* may be pronounced as ऊ or वू. Priyolkar treats अ, ऑ and ऊं as independent graphemes. In the alphabetical set up he prefers the order अॅ, ए, ऑ, ओ which is not traditional but modern and phonetic. This confusion of sound and shape of letters results into a hotchpotch mixture of old and new in presenting the alphabetical system of Marathi language.

Situations in which *c* and *g* are pronounced either /k/ /dz/ or /s/,

/ g / have been stated but no condition is given when *e* is pronounced as य. The table shows that each one of the letters इ, औ, क्, ग्, य्, र्, and स् can be represented by two different Roman letters. But we find that ज् is replaced for four letters, viz. j, z, i and s in *jarij* जरि, *zari* जरि, IESVES जेजूस् and yet we have only *z* for ज् in the table. Similarly *ch* stands of / k / क् in *Paschoa* पास्क, *Christam* क्रिस्तां and o for व in *Lingoa* लिंग्व, *Christaõ* क्रिस्तावं. *ch* and *o* are conspicuously absent from their places against क् and व् respectively.

Novissimos (p. 73) rendered into नॉव्हिसिमुश् (p. 45) shows that < o > = /ɔ/ and /u/, < s > = /ś/, < v > = / vh / normally written by Fr. Stephens as *uh*. Similarly if *seo* = सेउ and *scio* स्येउ then < o > = /u/ and < io > = /ju/ i. e. < i > = /j/ but if *Pontio* = पांसियु then only < o > = / ju /. This word *Pontio* (p. 64, 19) leaves us with a doubt as to why Latin pronunciation is preferred to Portuguese / põtiju/ or ıs < t > = / s /. Again if *Paschoa* (p. 70) is पास्क (p. 35) then < oa > = < a > or / ə /. And in *Lingoa* = लिंग्व it is < va > or व.

In none of these few cases does the table of correspondences between Devanagari and Roman alphabets help us. These examples make it clear that Roman O in different situations is itself a problem for rendering it into Devanagari and that needed thorough consideration.

The editor could have been more precise about the graphonemes अॅ ऑ = / əe /, / ɔ / on comparison of the following pairs.

/ əe / and / ɔ / : नॉसु रॅजार (16–28), आवॅ, ऑरासांव (11–23) कॉंफॅसार (4–16,17)
/ əe and / e / : साल्वॅ रेजिना (16–11), फॅ (1–20), गे (15–3)
/ əe / and / a / : कॅंदा (18–2)
/ ɔ / e and / a / : मात्रिमॉनियु (42–21) कॉंसाग्रार (37–24) कॅंदा कॅंदॉ (5–17)
/ ɔ / and / o / : ऑर्दे (42–20), ओरिजिनाल (43–5)

The reader is granted an option to choose his pronounciation in cases like म्हणतात्रं ~ म्हणताऊं, क्रिस्तावं ~ क्रिस्ताऊं etc. Such occurrences need verification with their original text. Were it possible to add a few photo prints of the Roman exemplar it would have proved to be an asset to this edition. One, however, finds a photoprint of p. 130 of the first edition of *Doutrina Christam* corresponding to page 1 line 19 to page 2—line 5 of Priyolkar's edition in *"Satarāvyā Śatakāṁtīl Gomantak Bolī"* by V. B. PRABHU DESAI, 1963, plate No. 1. On tallying this Devanagari text with Stephan's original one finds that in मुखीं (p. 1. 21) and स्वर्गींचा (2.1) *i* ought to have been short. If फॅ = *fee* (faith) then /æ/ अॅ = <ee> is obvious. The word occurs thrice in this portion. In the photo print of the original line 10 has *Christaõ* while lines 15 and 19 have *Christaũ* which stand for क्रिस्तांव and क्रिस्ताऊं respectively.

There is some difficulty about *e* = य़. Photoprint has (line 1) *Saitanita* सत्यमानिता and (l. 4–5.) *Satemanuchy* सत्यमानुची. Let us take it for granted that in the first occurrence '*tt*' is a mistake for '*te*'. Even then if '*e*' = य़ there should be '*ea*' for य as this final *a* invariably appears elsewhere after a consonant or even a vowel *ua* = व in *paualoi* पावलोइ, *uhaddiuā* व्हडिव etc., but this final '*a*' is missing in the above occurrences of सत्य — which should be *satea*—. Of course, if Priyolkar has accurately followed the text of the second edition produced by Dr. SALDANHA it is likely that SALDANHA's rendering of the text differs from Stephen's original writing on the points stated above.

In the text of the first edition, there are accent marks on vowels ȁ (line 3, 4), ȉ ȅ (line 7. 8) rightly left out of consideration as Priyolkar does not want any encroachment on the traditional use of Devanagari script and wishes to avoid phonetic colouring to his transliteration. But in the 'Notes' he does not help suggesting occasionally his preference of आमँ over आमे or विरजँ over विजें. In this part of the book the editor deals in some detail with Fr. Stephen's confusion in the use of अ and आ. In spite of this fact he considers साखाइ 'the only instance' as a printer's devil. To facilitate understanding English words are given in brackets. There are a few cases, however, where Portuguese equivalents will prove helpful to a student. In the section of "Notes" there are a number of misprints left uncorrected in the Errata. A glaring one is प्रमाण for (परिणाम) (p. 72). Entries in the 'Notes' have forms different from those in the text or index. कोंफेसांव (N. p. 73) कोंफिसांव (T. 1), आराटी (N. p. 70) आराटि (T. 1) etc. धामाक a reduplicative form, appears as an independent word in the Index besides its occurrence in कामाधामाक.

Some words in the Index bear an asterisk mark without any indication as to what it stands for. It seems they are words out of use now. But पळेऊंचे does not show an asterisk though it is noted to be out of use. Similarly one does not know what the plus sign (+) before the lines 10, 11, 12 on the 1st page of the text mean.

There are in the 'Notes' a few observations which may be considered linguistically. But it is out of the scope of this review. In an edition of this kind any language-student would legitimately expect at least a general outline of the dialect of such an old Konkani text. The text of *Doutrina Christian* may represent the Sāsaṣti dialect of mid-Konkan region as spoken by the Brahmans of Sasasti which was the centre of Christian Missionary activities in those days and where Fr. Stephens himself worked.

M. G. Panse

The Legend of Emperor Asoka in Indian and Chinese Texts by Jean PRZYLUSKI, Translated by Dilipkumar Biswas. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta : 252 pp. Rs. 15.00.

The work under review is a translation of Jean Przyluski's book *La Legende de l'Empereur Asoka* published in Paris 65 years ago. While the French book had already become a classic soon after its publication, there was a great need for an English translation. We are, therefore, thankful to Prof. Dilip Kumar Biswas for fulfilling this long-standing want. The publication of this book has some topical interest. When today we are discussing once again how for proselytism or propagation of one's religion and the means by which it is done are hostly discussed. For it will be seen from this book that much before Christianity, India had taken a lead in propagating Buddhism. It will also be clear form a reading of this book that the Buddhist-Bikshus who were sent out to different parts of India, Ceylon and to countries outside India, Central Asia, Tibet, China and Japan were purely motivated by a desire to preach the gospel of Buddha and convert people by the rewards, both material, cultural and spiritual. They themselves never offered any material gains as it is being done by some ofi the proselytizers during the last few hundred years.

It has been shown that one might distinguish three phases in the history of the progress of Buddhism and the Buddhist Church ranged from Magadha or the lower valley of the Ganga to Tibet and Central Asia. Each one of this phase is reflected in the history of Buddhist literatlure. They have been called as the Magadha, Mathura and Kashmir phases respectively.

Biswas also draws our attention to the several aspects of Zoroastrinism and Buddhism, a line of enquiry which needs to be pursued up further. Lastly the Asokan traditions had so much permeated the life of the people of Central Asia that it had become an integral part of the literature and even now in the distant frontiers of Tibet and Siberia, it is still continuing, a fact which was brought to notice by the recent visit of Dr. Lokesh Chandra.

H. D. Sankalia

Mitra and Aryaman by Paul Thieme. Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 41, pp. 1-96. 1957. Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.

Thieme observes : "The two Vedic gods Mitra and Aryaman—for the Rigvedic poet the two most important figures amongst the Ādityas after

Varuṇa—have challenged research again and again." (p. 5). The problem of Mitra and Varuṇa was discussed by G. Dumézil in his book *Mitra-Varuṇa* (Paris, 1940 and 1948). He afterwards took up the problem of Aryaman in his book *Le troisième Souverain* (Paris, 1949). Before writing the present book, Thieme himself had dealt with Aryaman in his *Der Fremdling im Rigveda* (Leipzig, 1938) and also in ZDMG 95. 219-221 (1941). As is well known, two very important volumes by Lüders on God Varuṇa have appeared in recent times (Goettingen, 1952, 1959).

Dumézil, apparently relying on certain identifications in the Brāhmaṇas, has come to the conclusion that there is a sort of opposition between Mitra and Varuṇa. Mitra is "le souverain sous son aspect raisonnant, clair, réglé, calme, bienveillant, sacerdotal", Varuṇa, on the other hand, is "le souverain sous son aspect assaillant, sombre, inspiré, violent, terrible, guerrier......" In fact, to Dumézil, a formula suggests itself : Mitra is *brahman,* Varuṇa is the king of the Gandharvas.

Thieme does not agree with this view. Dumézil himself admits that a large majority of the texts studied by him 'do not permit distinguishing Mitra and Varuṇa by clear features'. Thieme therefore rightly asks : "If there is not even a distinction, how should there be an opposition?" (p. 9).

In the present book Thieme gives his opinion on the views held by Dumézil, and also asserts his own views, which he had already expressed before, regarding these deities. He firmly believes that God Mitra is the personification of an ethical concept 'contract', God Varuṇa that of 'true speech', and God Aryaman that of 'hospitality'.

Thieme has set forth his arguments so cogently that it is difficult not to agree with him. As for the method, he says : "Everybody, of course also Dumézil, is well within his rights when 'throwing an hypothesis'. The value of such hypothesis, however, depends on the accuracy of the experiments that are meant to prove it. If our experiments are arranged in such a way as to be in contradiction to known facts and involve further assumptions which have no justification apart from making our primary assumption possible, our hypothesis remains a preconceived notion .... A hypothesis has sense only when it restricts our imagination and forces us to try going into a certain direction. It can be disproved when this leads to absurd consequences" (pp. 16 and 17).

While one may fully agree with Thieme regarding the method suggested by him and with the results arrived at by him by the application of this method, it seems possible to offer a few suggestions with regard to the interpretation of certain Vedic passages cited by him. It is hoped that these suggestions will lead to a better understanding of these passages.

1. On pp. 39 and 42, Thieme cites RV 3.59.1a and b : *mitró jánān yātayati bruvāṇáḥ mitró dādhāra pṛthivī́m utá dyā́m* and translates, "Contract, when named, makes peoples array (arrange) themselves [with regard to each other]. Contract has earth and heaven in keeping." While commenting on b Thieme says that it refers to the cosmic function of Mitra and that it is contrasted with his rôle in human society which is spoken of in a. (Also cf. p. 58. Mitra keeps not only earth but also heaven). One is, however, inclined to feel that in the above passage, b is not intended to contrast with a. On the other hand, it gives a concrete example of the function of Mitra expressed by the term *yātayati*. Mitra arranges men (a), as he has before arranged earth and heaven (b). The keeping of earth and heaven is looked upon as an arrangement between them. It may be noted that in the RV 5.72. 2b, where the form *yātayájjanā* is used, it is accompanied by *dhármaṇā* in the instrumental. From this, one is led to suppose that *dhármaṇā* is to be understood also in our passage. When we do this—*mitró jánān (dhármaṇā) yātayati*—, the use of *dādhāra* in b is easily explained, and further, the interpretation suggested above is confirmed.

2. On p. 44, Thieme cites RV 3.59.2, the last quarter of which-*naínam áṁho aśnoty ántito ná dūrā́t*-he translates, "narrowness (anxiety) does not reach him neither from near, nor from afar." From his commentary on this verse it appears that Thieme takes *áṁhas* (anxiety) to refer to the possible lawless attacks in peace. It is, however, not clear why the literal meaning of *áṁhas* 'narrowness' is considered inadequate by Thieme. The line assures the one who keeps his contractual vow (*yás ta āditya śíkṣati vraténa*) that he will never be in the danger of facing narrowness of space. He will always have wide expanses at his disposal. This becomes quite clear from the use of *várimann ā́ pṛthivyā́ḥ* 'on the width of the earth' in the next verse (RV.3.59.3).

3. On p. 49, Thieme cites RV 3.59.4 : *ayáṁ mitró namasyàḥ suśévo rā́jā sukṣató ajaniṣṭa vedhā́ḥ* which he translates as, "Contract, [who is] worthy of (sacrificial) reverence, benevolent, a king of good rulership has been born [now] as this leader (?)". Thieme thus connects *ayáṁ* with *vedhā́ḥ* which is at a considerable distance from it. In his commentary on this verse, Thieme says that *ayáṁ ajaniṣṭa* should refer to fire because fire is occasionally present at the time of concluding a contract and because fire is elsewhere identified with *mitra*. Linguistically, as pointed out by Thieme, *ayáṁ* must refer to something that is before the eye, and *ajaniṣṭa*, as an aorist form, must refer to a happening that has just taken place. But if we accept Thieme's interpretation, this verse, which occurs in 'the only hymn that is dedicated to Mitra in its entirety' (p. 39), would refer to Agni and not to Mitra. This is not quite happy. Thieme tries to add to the force of his argument by pointing out that the last two quarters of this verse—*tásya vayáṁ sumataú yajñíyasyā́pi bhadré saumanasé syāma*—are identical with the RV 3.1.21 cd which are

addressed to Agni. But this evidence loses any force it has when one notices that in the RV 3.59 itself in verse 3 the seer says *vayáṁ mitrásya sumataú syāma.*

It is, however, not necessary to interpret this verse as referring to fire in order to justify the use of *ayám* and *ajaniṣṭa.* It can very well refer to the contract that has been just concluded and has been identified with god Contract. This will satisfy all requirements of the linguistic usage, bring about a natural connection between *ayám* and *mitráḥ* which stand close to each other in the verse, and will not force us to assign a verse in the Mitra hymn to Agni.

4. On pp. 73 f., Thieme shows how in a number of passages in the RV it makes perfect sense when *arí* is translated by (1) enemy, and (2) guest. On p. 74, however, he says that there are certain passages in which we *might* translate *arí* by 'host'. In support, he cites RV. 3.43.2 :

ā́ yāhi pūrvī́r áti carṣaṇī́r ā́ṁ

aryá āśíṣa úpa no háribhyām

'Come here, across many peoples! Here, to the blessings of the *host,* to us with thy horses!' In his *Fremdling* (p. 27), however, Thieme interprets *arí* in this verse as 'stranger' and translates *aryá āśíṣaḥ* by "den Segenswünschen für den Fremdling". He adds, by way of explanation, that a stranger, when received with blessings, becomes a friend. It should be possible to agree with Thieme in interpreting in the present verse *arí* as 'stranger', and not as 'host', but it would be difficult to agree with his translation of *aryá āśíṣaḥ* 'blessings for the stranger' (*aryé* dat.). We better take *aryáḥ* as gen. sg. (as in the RV. 8.54.7) and translate the expression as 'the blessings of the stranger'. The stranger, in all probability, is the one who has agreed to act as priest at a sacrifice (cf. the very first and other verses in this hymn which speak of sacrifice). It is to these blessings of the priest given to the sacrificer that Indra is invited to come across many peoples.

5. On p. 75, Thieme cites RV 10.27.8 *gā́vo yávam práyutā aryó akṣan.* He connects *aryáḥ* with *yávam* and translates, "The cows, let loose, ate the stranger's barely". But it would be better to construe *aryáḥ* with *gā́vaḥ.* The stranger's cows have eaten the native's barley. The calls, to which reference is made in c (*hávā íd aryáḥ*), are not those raised by the native, the possessor of the barley (thus, Thieme, *Fremdling,* p. 12), but those raised by the stranger, the possessor of the cows. He, with his calls, has let loose the cows in the barley field. The owner of the barley field is the *svápati,* referred to in d, and he wants to know how long he will have to tolerate the nuisances caused by the stranger.

6. A few omissions may be noted in the end. On p. 62, Thieme cites RV 10.89.9. While translating it, he has left out the word *durévāḥ.*

On p. 83, he cites RV 2.1.4. While giving the text, he gives ***bhavasi*** in place of *sátpatiḥ* in the third quarter (probably under the influence of RV 5.3.2a). While translating the line, however, he has translated it as if both the words *bhavasi* and *sátpatiḥ* were present in the text. In d in the same verse he has left out untranslated the word *deva*.

M. A. Mehendale

Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India. By H. SARKAR (Manshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, pp. 120, Pl. XII, Rs. 30/-).

Sarkar's book is, in essence, complementary to the book by Professor Jean Przyluski because while the former shows the spread of Buddhism through literature, Sarkar has tried to visualise this in architecture. This is a very laudable attempt because so far we have only been studying the ancient Buddhist habitations, *vihāras* and *saṅghārāmas* from the point of view of architecture alone. But a pertinent question arises whether a particular school of Buddhism had, according to its needs, developed a different kind of stupa and also laid out the *saṅghārāma* (monastery) in a different way. For carrying out this, Sarkar has reviewed three kinds of stupas — Circular, Apsidal, Quadrilateral — and also their location in different parts of India and he comes to a very important conclusion which is also attested to from other evidence that the caves on the western coast seem to have been influenced by Indo-Greek and Indo-Roman contact.

It is really unfortunate that the sects which excavated the splendid caves at Bhaja, Ajanta, Pitalkhora could not be identified, due to absence of any reference to them in inscriptions, whereas we can ascribe the excavations at Karle, Kanheri, Nasik and Junnar to the Mahāsāṅghikas and 4-5 other sects.

As it is well known there are at least two phases in the cave architecture and sculpture. All the earlier caves are without the image of Buddha, because these early Bhiksus only worshipped the Chaitya. But later the figure of Buddha was carved out in the Chaitya or in the Facade. Sarkar tells us that it was the Sākya-bhiksus who made a concerted effort to introduce image-worship amongst the sects settled in different cave-monasteries. These Bhiksus had a distinct entity, with a definite ideal and mission because, as an Ajanta inscription says "whoever makes an image of Jina (Buddha) becomes com-

plete in beatitude, auspiciousness, and good qualities, and his splendour is brilliant through virtues, and physical organs, and is delightsome to the eyes."

It was such an ideal which spread the second gospel of Buddhism, viz. Buddha as a God. But how much different this is from the group of religious people who tried to preach this or that religion ! !

H. D. Sankalia.

OFFICE OF THE ... 26 AUG 1969 GOVT. OF MADRAS